# Daily Report

# East Europe

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24 September 1990

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*FBIS-EEU-90-185* *24 September 1990*

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### Warsaw Pact Provisional Commission Opens Session

*AU1809161390 Sofia BTA in English 1536 GMT 18 Sep 90*

["Warsaw Treaty in for Changes"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, 18 Sep (BTA)—The provisional commission of government plenipotentiaries of the Warsaw Treaty member states opened its second session here. It is to work out a package of reforms for the organization, which should be considered and approved by the Political Consultative Committee this coming November before the CSCE summit in Paris.

"We want to keep the Warsaw Treaty until Europe-wide security structures are built because, to one degree or another, the organization safeguards this country's security," said the chief Bulgarian delegate Mr. Neycho Neychev, deputy chief of a department at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Poland, Hungary and Czechoslovakia have brought to the Bulgarian capital a joint draft of reforms for the Warsaw Treaty, specifying the views of the member states about cuts in the military structures and about the role of the political bodies.

"We are seeking to lend the Warsaw Treaty a purely advisory character," the head of the Hungarian delegation Ambassador Bela Kupper Vojtek of the Foreign Ministry told the press. "We should devote more attention and more energy to the creation of Europe-wide structures," he added.

Speaking to the media people, Mr. Svatopluk Buchlovsky, director of department at the Czechoslovak Foreign Ministry, said that NATO, too, should undergo major reforms. "At that, however, it should be borne in mind that the Czechoslovakia does not believe there should be a symmetry between the changes in the Warsaw Treaty and in NATO," he went on to say.

Ambassador Gorald Gorinovich of the USSR described as premature any assessments and predictions but, along with that, he stressed the Soviet Union's firm intention to honour the commitments undertaken within the alliance and those arising from the bilateral treaties of friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance.

### Official Assesses Future of Pact

*AU1909203490 Sofia BTA in English 1743 GMT 19 Sep 90*

[Text] Sofia, 19 Sep (BTA)—A Bulgarian Foreign Ministry official today said he was optimistic about the future of the Warsaw Treaty, as the organization can survive in the coming two or three years.

Mr. Neycho Neychev, deputy chief of department, told the press that the two-day meeting, which the provisional commission of government plenipotentiaries of the Warsaw Treaty member states completed here, was held in a constructive atmosphere and that 80 per cent of the reform blueprint was practically ready.

Mr. Neychev made it clear that the Warsaw Treaty reform draft will be submitted for consideration and approval to the organization's Political Consultative Committee after a third and obviously last meeting of the provisional commission in October 1990.

It was announced yesterday that Poland, Hungary and Czechoslovakia have submitted a joint proposal on Warsaw Treaty reforms at the meeting of the provisional commission. Mr. Neycho Neychev said that the three countries' latest suggestions revise the reform draft worked out by Czechoslovakia and submitted at the first meeting of the provisional commission.

Under the circumstances, some of the participants in the meeting were not prepared to consider the new proposals. It was decided to bring them to the notice of the respective state leaderships. Right away Mr. Neychev said this did not imply that individual countries have taken a hard line in their positions.

### 'Novel Cooperation' at Pact Meeting

*LD2009083890 Budapest MTI in English 0655 GMT 20 Sep 90*

[Text] Sofia, September 20 (MTI)—The 2nd session of the provisional committee of government commissioners of the Warsaw Treaty countries ended in Sofia on Wednesday. The session was attended by diplomatic and military experts. The Hungarian delegation was led by Ambassador Bela Kupper Vojtek, who gave a statement to MTI.

"Our committee was commissioned by the Moscow meeting of the Warsaw Treaty Political Consultative Committee to submit proposals at the special session of the Political Consultative Committee, to be held in Budapest in November, on the re-examination of the Warsaw Treaty, and its possible, radical transformation. The Sofia session can be evaluated in a way that the intentions approved by Hungarian parliament and set down in the government programme have been successfully realized. Together with the delegations of the Republic of Poland and the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic, we outlined a settlement conception through which the Warsaw Treaty can be radically transformed, and will be capable of adapting to the structure of pan-European cooperation, and for cooperation with the other European states.

"The framework of the Warsaw Treaty has been exhausted, and we evidenced, also in the current conference, that the member countries show increasing interest for a novel cooperation", Ambassador Bela Kupper Vojtek said.

## East European Ministers Continue Reform Meeting

### Romanian, Soviet Delegates Speak

*AU1909173690 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1601 GMT 19 Sep 90*

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 19/9/1990—"After a few months' experience, the Romanian Government decided to step up the application of the measures under the programme for a structural reform of the Romanian society," said Mr. Adrian Severin, minister assistant to the prime minister for reform and relations with the Parliament, at a meeting of reform ministers of East-European countries under way in Snagov.

He said that three principles were in view in the application of the reform: the implementation of the economic reform at a fast pace by shortening application time and avoiding the emergence and consolidation of phenomena of rejection; the achievement of a balance between the political and economic factors, any gap on one plane or another being apt to create tension and to turn into a brake; the implementation of the reform in consideration of the people's capacity to a assimilate the principles of the system to which they are heading.

Mr. Adrian Severin also referred to the major difficulties the Romanian Government encounters in this period of achieving an economic reform, stressing that the Romanian economic system prior to 1990 had laid special stress on large investment in industry, which attracted a tremendously large number of rural population to industry who never had time to get trained.

Outlining the main solutions to and the problems of the economic reform in Romania, the speaker said the economic reform was approached in an over-all manner. In the area of privatization a fixed system will be adopted: Some of the shares will be freely distributed to the population as bonds while others will be sold.

In the outlook of the Romanian Government, a strategic line of the programme for economic reform is the creation of a sector of medium industry, which should become the backbone of the Romanian economy in the future.

In conclusion, the speaker announced Romania's priorities under the economic reform programme: demonopolization, free competition among economic agents, liberalization of prices, with the prices of basic products being maintained, while a certain measure of control is exercised on the prices of products manufactured in a monopoly system on the Romanian market, the passage to the convertibility of the leu, to be achieved through a preparatory stage due to start these very days, and a transition to international convertibility.

In conclusion, Mr. Adrian Severin said Romania had opted for the market-economy system.

"The problems related to the transition to a market economy are problems shared by the countries in Eastern Europe but not specific to them," said the USSR chief delegate, Petr Makarovich Katsura, first vice-chairman of the government Commission for Economic Reform.

"In 1989, the economy of the USSR was characterized by strong contradictions and we reached a state of economic crisis as the process of transition to a market economy was not supported by steps on the part of the state apparatus," the speaker said adding that the variety of programmes suggested for a passage to the market economy highlighted the degree of radicalization of economic reforms in the USSR.

A substantial section of his address referred to the social group of scientists created to look into problems related to the transition to a market economy. In consideration of the fact that at present the consumer market is disturbed by the exchange rate of the ruble, which is very low, the programme of the group envisages a reduction of the state budget debt, which is estimated at 60 billion rubles, this year.

The speaker further referred to the fiscal system also showing that the programmes for the economic reform approached problems related to the indexation and compensation of the population's incomes, so that compensation should be linked to price rises.

"Furthermore, these programmes provide for the creation of organizations to attract foreign investment with the participation of foreign capital, the speaker said inter alia."

### Iliescu Receives Ministers

*AU2009204190 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1746 GMT 19 Sep 90*

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 19/9/1990—Romanian President Ion Iliescu met on September 19 with reform ministers of some East-European countries who participated in a meeting organized by the Romanian Government for exchange of information and views.

Representatives of Bulgaria, the Czech and Slovak Federative Republic, Yugoslavia, Poland, Hungary, the Soviet Union, Romania were present.

President Ion Iliescu assessed that that first meeting that occasioned a useful exchange of experience in matters of transition to the market economy, a process in which all attending countries were engrossed, was the beginning of a fertile collaboration in that domain. As compared with the other East-European countries, President Iliescu showed, Romania has the least experience as regards the economic reform and the hard legacy, meaning an overcentralized economy, raises more obstacles in the progress of this process. Romania's president emphasized the usefulness of such an exchange of experience in facilitating the steps taken toward socio-economic changes.

The chief delegates appreciated in their addresses Romania's initiative which they considered as a good start and of real use, expressing the wish that more such actions be organized.

### Pact Disarmament Meeting Takes Place 22-23 Sep

*LD2009181490 Prague CTK in English 1511 GMT 20 Sep 90*

[Text] Prague Sept 20 (CTK)—The Czechoslovak Foreign Ministry has announced that a session of the Warsaw Pact special commission for disarmament at the level of deputy foreign ministers will take place in Prague on September 22-23.

The session directly follows up the meeting of the commission in Bratislava on September 10-11.

### Commission's Session Ends

*LD2309143190 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1400 GMT 23 Sep 90*

[Text] A session of the special Warsaw Pact commission for disarmament ended at the Cernian Palace in Prague today. The delegations of the member states, at the level of deputy ministers of foreign affairs and chiefs of the general staffs, discussed the maximum national levels of the individual types of weapons and military equipment.

Substantial concord of views was achieved, especially in fixing the numbers of planes and helicopters; on the other hand, an agreement on the quotas of tanks, armored carriers and artillery has not yet been reached.

All questions remaining open will be on the agenda for talks between the ministers of foreign affairs of these countries to be held in New York on 30 September.

### Disarmament Session Praised

*LD2309211490 Prague CTK in English 1802 GMT 23 Sep 90*

[Text] Prague Sept 23 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Deputy Foreign Minister Robert Harencar told CTK today that the two-day meeting of the Warsaw Pact special commission for disarmament which ended here today was a breakthrough.

Deputy foreign ministers and chiefs of staff of the Warsaw Pact member countries agreed in Prague on quotas of aircraft, helicopters and partially of tanks. A consensus was not reached on other types of weapons. The results of the meeting will be handed over by the delegations to the countries' foreign ministers who will meet in New York on September 30. Participating in the next meeting will be six delegations, as the participation of the delegation of the German Democratic Republic ended today, Robert Harencar said.

Harencar said that the session followed up the commission's fruitless negotiations in Bratislava on September 10-11. Czechoslovakia and Hungary elaborated specified proposals for the Prague meeting on the basis of which it was possible to reach agreement at least in several questions.

He said that the debate was very complicated at the beginning as the Warsaw Pact has substantially changed recently and every state now performs in quite a sovereign way. "The dictate of one country to the others is the past," he added. "Despite several moments, when there was a danger that no progress will be made in the negotiations, quotas of aircraft, helicopters and partially of tanks were agreed on thanks to goodwill, patience and concessions of all sides." In Bratislava, the participants did not reach agreement on 1,047 tanks, while after the session in Prague, there are only 450 tanks left to be agreed on to reach the level agreed on in the talks on conventional disarmament in Vienna, Harencar said.

Representative of the General Staff of the Czechoslovak Army for disarmament Jiri Divis told CTK that the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Central Europe by the year 1994 will have a substantial influence on the change of the situation on the continent. "A new military situation will arise. All states around us now try to ensure their defence at the national level. Also our priority is to preserve the sufficient strength for the defence of sovereignty with the overall trend to reduce armament and transition towards a non-bloc policy. Our proposals and demands to preserve quotas of weaponry for our republic are justified and at the level of defensive sufficiency necessary for us," Divis said.

### CSFR, Hungary Submit Disarmament Proposal

*LD1309175890 Prague CTK in English 1539 GMT 13 Sep 90*

[Text] Vienna Sept 13 (CTK correspondent)—The Czechoslovak and Hungarian delegations to the Vienna discussions of 23 NATO and Warsaw Pact member states on conventional armed forces suggested here today that the limit of the future conventional military potential of individual states should not exceed one-third of the entire potential on the average.

Head of the Czechoslovak delegation Ladislav Balcar told a plenary session that no state in Europe should have in future more than 40 percent of its present conventional military potential, as proposed by the Soviet Union. All states speak today of ending the cold war, of growing confidence and cooperation. Czechoslovakia is firmly convinced that the building of security foundations for a new common European house should ensue from lower limits. The Czechoslovak and Hungarian delegations suggest the following limits for individual categories of conventional weapons possessed by the NATO and Warsaw Pact member states—12,580 tanks, 20,460 armoured vehicles and 12,560 artillery systems, he said.

## '39th' BSP Congress Convenes in Sofia 22 Sep

### Party Will Not Evade 'Responsibility'

*AU2209145590 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 0900 GMT 22 Sep 90*

[Nina Spasova report from the Georgi Kirkov Hall in Sofia on the opening of the 39th Congress of the Bulgarian Socialist Party in Sofia—live or recorded]

[Text] [Spasova] At precisely 0900 [0600 GMT] Aleksandur Lilov, chairman of the Supreme Council of the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP], opened the congress, announcing that 1,328 of the 1,337 elected delegates were present in the hall. The first decision adopted by the delegates concerned the number of the congress. The majority voted on calling it the 39th—the date of the founding of the party to the present. The arguments with which the delegates agreed were that in this way continuity is assured over the party's 100-year-long history, and thereby the BSP shows that it does not evade its historical responsibility for the period of totalitarianism.

The congress is working under unusual conditions. Some of the delegates are sitting in the entrance hall and are watching the work in the congress hall over television monitors. Despite the difficult situation, the right place for our congress is here, by the fire-blackened walls of the party building, Lilov stated when he opened the congress. However, some of the delegates expressed fears that it was impossible to work normally under such conditions, and put to the vote a proposal that the congress move to the People's Palace of Culture. Nonetheless, the view prevailed that, at a time when money was being collected for the restoration of the Party Building, it was inappropriate to spend other money on high rental payments for the use of another hall.

Heated debates developed even during the discussion of the agenda, and especially during the election of the auxiliary organs of the congress. After many proposals and arguments, the delegates decided to do without a delegates conference on the grounds that it was not sufficiently democratic, and postponed the election of the commission on proposals for a new membership of the all-party organs until the afternoon session.

At the moment, as you can hear, BSP Supreme Council Chairman is Aleksandur Lilov is delivering the political report. Let us listen to his words for a few seconds:

[Lilov]...we should not assess our actions and those of the opposition only from the viewpoint of what they are at the present moment, but in a broader context, through the prism of the processes and tendencies which are developing today in our society. Only in this context is it possible to differentiate between reasonable and necessary political compromise and unprincipled readiness to agree to anything and retreat. Only thus....

[Spasova] The first words of Aleksandur Lilov's report were that if the present congress fails to reform the party, it will go down in history as the congress which destroyed the party. Why is it necessary to reform the BSP into a new party? The arguments put forward by Aleksandur Lilov were that the present party has exhausted its possibilities, and a new party is needed which corresponds to the new realities, a party of the left which will become part of the progressive world and European left.

In his report Aleksandur Lilov dealt in detail with the situation in the country and the world as a whole, paying particular attention to the continuing crisis in Bulgarian society and the tasks of the BSP connected with this crisis. I would like to mention just one of his points. According to Aleksandur Lilov, we are living at a fatal watershed, and two solutions are possible for the future: either nationwide consensus on how to bring the country out of the crisis, or the breaking out of civil war. It was emphasized that the BSP supports a peaceful transition to democracy, and will continue to appeal to all political forces for dialogue and cooperation.

At the moment Aleksandur Lilov is speaking about the political reform in the country and the tasks facing the BSP.

### Mladenov Chairs First Session

*AU2209152390 Sofia BTA in English 1330 GMT 22 Sep 90*

[Text] Sofia, 22 Sep (BTA)—Today the 39th Congress of the Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP) was opened. It comes after the 14th Extraordinary Congress of the BSP held seven months ago. The numeration has been changed to remind about the social democratic roots of the former Communist Party. In the platform of the Socialist Party published in advance, the strife of the party to turn into a modern parliamentary party and become part of the European left wing was declared .

At the very beginning of the political report presented by the leader of the BSP, Mr. Aleksandur Lilov, stress was laid on the paramount importance of the congress. He said that the congress should decide the fate of the party—it will either reform, thus ensuring for itself a prospect-holding future or, if it fails to transform, the party will go politically bankrupt.

Aleksandur Lilov is reading his report while the "ghost of the is peeping from behind his back" [as received]—this is how the situation is seen today by the caricaturist of the opposition DEMOKRATSIYA paper.

The people who left the BSP and its Alternative Socialist Association (ASA) [ASO] faction who call themselves now ASA (Independent) state that in actual fact the BSP is still a communist party with a membership of no more than 100 thousand people. Judging by the number of delegates sent to the congress, its numerical strength must be over 800,000 people, while until recently it was a one-million strong party. Despite all insistence, the party members were not re-registered, which could have given an idea of the number of its actual members.

1,356 delegates gathered in the assembly hall of the BSP headquarters, set on fire on August 26. The burning smell is still felt in the huge building with a red star on top. It is this enormous red ruby star that provoked the people's stormy protests which, on their turn, urged the adoption of a decision to remove "all non-Bulgarian symbols" from public places. Now the smoke- blackened luxury of the building built in a "Stalinist baroque" style that towers in the centre of Sofia strikes the eye in a strange way.

Mr. Petur Mladenov, former party leader and former president of the country who was restored to his post in the leadership of the BSP, is chairing the first session of the congress. He was the first to take a seat on the tribune after the BSP leader, Mr. Aleksandur Lilov, and this fact reminded the rumours that he would be probably nominated leader of the Socialist Party. He was received with mixed feelings some of the delegates reminded him of his being responsible for the presidential crisis that ended by the election of the opposition leader, Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev, president of the country.

Mr. Petur Mladenov said that the congress is not being held in the best of comfort. The party's previous congresses held before it gave up its ruling role and before it won the first-in-44-years multiparty elections in June were extraordinarily solemn and took place in the biggest halls in Sofia. They resembled rather rituals than business-like forums. Now there are delegates both behind the working presidium and in the lobbies. The usual flags and portraits of the classics of Marxism-Leninism are missing, too.

The first congress disputes were about the place it should be held in. A delegate of the ASA faction said that the participants in the congress need not feel the smell of burning, it would be better to work in the comfortable hall of the Palace of Culture. There are representatives of the different factions and ideological platforms in the BSP, but it cannot be determined yet whether the reformers or the conservatives are prevailing.

The predictions about this congress are numerous—some expect consolidation of the orthodox BSP members, some forecast the victory of the reform-minded ones, others hope that the former Communist Party, which so far has avoided the fate of the similar parties in the other East European countries, will split.

The matters of procedure were settled in an hour and a half. In some speeches the fear was expressed of manipulations.

Outside the hall is guarded by people with red bands on their arms, there are guards who look more professional, judging by their appearance, inside too. The access of journalists to the hall is limited.

The people of the BSP apparatus say that now the guard of the building is stronger, because of the investigation initiated after it was set on fire. Otherwise, as of the beginning of this year, the guard was minimal and hired under a contract.

### Lilov Warns of Split, 'Disintegration'

*AU2209152490 Sofia BTA in English 1411 GMT 22 Sep 90*

["A. Lilov: The Split of the Party Would Be Its Ruin"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, 22 Sep (BTA)—Split and disintegration—thus the leader of the Socialists Mr. Aleksandur Lilov, defined the most important jeopardies which the Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP) is exposed to in the report presented by him on opening the 39th BSP Congress today.

"The split would lead to the party's collapse," Mr. Lilov underlined. "We should distance ourselves from the calls for disbanding it and setting up a new party in its place." These words of Lilov's were received by the delegates with applause.

"Try to avoid the split," an emotional message of greetings sent by a group of anti-fascists to the congress and circulated in the lobby of the congress hall reads. These Socialists expect a consolidation of the party at the congress and consider that if it is further "radicalized," the BSP would lose its "party individuality."

According to Lilov the other jeopardies the BSP is exposed to are the upset functioning of the party on a regional and local level, the conservatism which "could lay it in the grave," the grave economic situation, the political and social tensions in Bulgaria, and "the provocations of the extremist forces which can arouse a desire for a 'strong hand.'"

Mr. Lilov tried to answer the reproaches of some Socialists who consider that there is a restoration of capitalism in Bulgaria. In his opinion the way out is seeking new paths to follow by taking into account the achievements of human civilization—the totalitarian socialism should not be kept, nor the one-time capitalism should be restored.

The BSP Supreme Council considers that both the demands made by some Socialists to turn the BSP into a social democratic party and those made by others who recommend to revert entirely to Marxism- Leninism are unacceptable in principle, Mr. Lilov underlined. The renewal of the BSP requires all reform-minded forces to close their ranks, irrespective of which generation and ideological platform they belong to.

As a modern left-wing party the BSP will lean on that part of today's workers, peasants and intellectuals who rely only on their own labour, Mr. Lilov said, speaking about the social basis of the Socialist Party. He stressed that the BSP cannot be a party of the working class only any more, nor can it pretend to be a "nationwide" party.

The BSP considers that the intelligentsia and the youth are its important mainstays.

In his report Mr. Lilov declared that the BSP is for a peaceful revolution in the political life and proposed to the opposition to hold a "round table" for the purpose of discussing measures to stop the political extremism.

The Socialists assess the present situation in Bulgaria as a borderline one. There is either chaos or national consensus beyond. Several times in his report Mr. Lilov accused the opposition of "double-dealing," "extreme negativism and intolerance as to other people's views" and said that the behaviour of the opposition was unpredictable. "But we will seek to assert mutual confidence," he said. Commenting on the attitude towards the Union of Democratic Forces, he said it would be "flexible and differentiated." "We have repeatedly made warnings about the extreme rightist and neo-fascists forces, but nobody is listening to us," Mr. Lilov added.

"The political distancing from the totalitarian methods is incomplete yet," he underlined in his report. In his opinion this process is unjustifiably prolonged not only on a central level. "We should distance ourselves only from those people whose personal guilt has been proved, we should not anathemize whole generations of Socialists."

The BSP is late with the analysis and the conclusions about the real economic situation in Bulgaria. Because of the delay, the economic radical reform is late, too, it was stressed in the report.

### Mladenov Says Charges False

*AU2209164190 Sofia BTA in English 1553 GMT 22 Sep 90*

[Text] Sofia, 22 Sep (BTA)—Answering the criticism levelled at him from the tribune of the 39th Congress of the Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP), the former president of the country, Mr. Petur Mladenov, stated that the presidential crisis and his resignation had been provoked by false accusations.

I told no lies, Mr. Mladenov declared pathetically, replying the "grave, sharp and serious words" addressed to him by the delegate Ognyan Surdolov, and said once again that the video recording, on which he can be seen to ask if it was not better to let the tanks come at the time of a protest demonstration in front of the parliament on December 14 last year, was a montage.

Mr. Petur Mladenov also said that a single phrase had been taken out of its context and used to make insinuations. He said he "kept silent until now for the sake of party discipline" and hinted that the opposition refused to take part in the parliamentary commission which is to investigate the case of his resignation because "they are afraid the truth can be revealed."

He called upon the congress to authorise the parliamentary group of the BSP to insist on the setting up of this commission which should announce in public the truth about the circumstances related to his resignation.

### BSP, ASO Differences Highlighted

*AU2209193090 Sofia BTA in English 1757 GMT 22 Sep 90*

[Text] Sofia, 22 Sep (BTA)—A Marxist or a modern left-wing party? What should the Socialists as ruling party which has formed a one-party government do to stabilize the economy and implement radical economic reforms aimed at the transition to a market economy? How to combine the reforms with the concept of "democratic socialism" and what is this democratic socialism like?

The above issues are being heatedly debated at the 39th Congress of the Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP). From time to time the disputes grow into clashes between conservatives and radicals. It seems that the delegates are unanimous as to the necessity of a renewal of the party and its governing bodies first of all by dismissing all discredited and corrupted people, whose abuses have been proved and whom a delegate qualified as "the mainstays of totalitarianism." On the other hand, all speakers declared themselves to be for the preservation of the unity of the party.

Lashing criticism for its inertness was levelled at the BSP Supreme Council and the BSP parliamentary group. It was proposed that the members of the parliamentary group should "make way to the young forces" in the party's governing bodies.

The Alternative Socialist Association (ASA) [ASO] faction was criticized for having run in the elections in June with a list of their own. The ASA demanded that the BSP should "admit its guilt before the people."

All share the same opinion as to the fateful importance the 39th Congress has for the survival of the Socialist Party. Most of the speakers—representatives of different social groups and different ideological trends within the BSP—think that the party's survival depends on the success of its change which should be analogous to and even outstripping the pace of the reform of the society.

### Stefanov: Muslims Exerting Pressure

*AU2209193190 Sofia BTA in English 1815 GMT 22 Sep 90*

["Muslims 'Drive Out' Bulgarians From Their Native Place"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, 22 Sep (BTA)—One hundred and seventeen Bulgarian families have moved from the region of Kurdzhali to the central parts of the country, driven away by the open and hidden pressure of the Muslims, who are a majority in this southeast area of Bulgaria, Mr. Stefan Stefanov, a delegate from Kurdzhali, stated at the 39th Congress of the Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP). He

said that in the last few years 600 Bulgarian families left the region due to the same reason.

Commenting on the election results of the BSP and the other political parties in the region of Kurdzhali, Mr. Stefanov pointed out that the political struggle there was waged "on an ethnic rather than on a political basis" and predicted that if the present administrative division of the country is preserved, "it will be no problem for the Movement for Rights and Freedoms to win the local authorities elections, thus determining the image of the region."

The delegate said that teachers, economic and other leaders of Bulgarian origin were subjected to psychological terror and had to resign. In his opinion the religious freedom in the areas inhabited by compact masses of Muslims is misused.

He proposed that a special parliamentary commission should visit Kurdzhali and familiarise itself with the situation on the spot and that the BSP should submit a proposal to the Grand National Assembly for guaranteeing the indivisibility, the territorial integrity and the sovereignty of the country through following a consistent ethnic policy, including the provision of efficient international guarantees within the framework of the all-European process.

### 'Hard-liners' Said Dominating

*AU2209193290 Sofia BTA in English 1848 GMT 22 Sep 90*

[Text] Sofia, 22 Sep (BTA)—At the Congress of the Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP) a representative of the Road to Europe ideological platform, which is considered to be reform-minded, tried to propose a new structure of the BSP Supreme Council, but it was received with disapproval, because it envisaged an actual representation of all movements and platforms of the Socialists.

A member of the present leadership of the BSP stated that the list of the new leaders was not ready yet. But a delegate who preferred to remain anonymous said he had seen the list: "All people of the high echelon are in it—former president Petur Mladenov, General Dobri Dzhurov and, something that is worth noting, all radicals."

In general the "hard-liners" are prevailing in all speeches made. Several times it was demanded to make it clear why the BSP lost to the opposition in the June elections and why the BSP behaves as if it did not win the elections.

"We could hardly expect that something will happen during the two congress days. What will really happen which is looked forward to with great interest, is the election of the new leadership," a journalist working for DUMA, the paper of the Socialists, said.

In the last five years (the data released referred to this period only) 44 percent of the income of the Socialist (formerly Communist) Party came from state subsidies. At the moment the apparatus of the BSP has a staff of 2,270 people, i.e. it was cut down six times compared to its last year's numerical strength.

"I know you are right even when you are making mistakes" is an excerpt from a poem dedicated to the former Bulgarian Communist Party a Communist poet wrote years ago. A delegate recited the excerpt without being given the floor by the chairman of the session and it was received with applause.

### Declaration on Guilt Voted Down

*AU2209193390 Sofia BTA in English 1852 GMT 22 Sep 90*

[Text] Sofia, 22 Sep (BTA)—The delegates of the Alternative Socialist Association (ASA) [ASO] faction insisted that the Congress of the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] should approve a declaration admitting the party's guilt to the Bulgarian people. The delegates rejected the idea. One of them said it was "a loathsome document" and his words were received with a storm of applause and chanting "BSP."

The poet Nedyalko Yordanov, who presented the draft declaration, was told to withdraw it. He did not do it and left the congress, saying that he felt in the same way he did 40 years ago, when Stalin's followers declared his father to be an enemy of the people.

Only eleven out of more than 1,300 delegates approved the declaration.

### Second Day of Debate Begins

*AU2309162290 Sofia BTA in English 1500 GMT 23 Sep 90*

[Text] Sofia, 23 Sep (BTA)—Whatever documents the congress may adopt, organizational and personnel decisions will be the most important ones, the leader of the Road to Europe Ideological Platform of the Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP), Mr. Petur-Emil Mitev, pointed out and called for "a democratic personnel revolution" in the leadership of the BSP.

On the second day of the congress the center of the disputes is the election of a leader and of supreme governing bodies of the BSP. This question is considered to be of paramount importance not only for the creation of a new image of the party that has made a total break with its totalitarian character, but also for its survival on the political arena as a stable force entrusted with the ruling of the country in extremely difficult conditions.

Mr. Dragomir Draganov, one of the leaders of the reform-minded BSP wing, called upon the party to dismiss about 100-200 people corrupted in the past and to elect "a young, efficient and active supreme council". According to another reformer the journalist Velislava

Dureva, if the congress sacrifices the renewal for the sake of a "monolithic unity", then it will built a "Cheops pyramid in which the mummy of an one-hundred-year-old party would be laid". According to the radical Chavdar Krustev the party needs able political managers in its leadership.

Delegates from the provinces launched a counter-attack, accusing their younger colleagues of "being in a hurry to come in power" and asking where these young people were at the time of the election campaign in the cities, where the Socialists were not particularly successful. A delegate from southeast Bulgaria reminded that the leadership of the former "fraternal parties" in Eastern Europe was taken over by "young and efficient people" and now they have been reduced just to small opposition parties.

But the reproaches that in essence the debates are only a pretext for manifesting aspirations for high-ranking party posts are justified only partially. The concretization of the party's concept of the social basis of the BSP in the conditions of a market economy and, respectively, of its ideology and political tactics, the creation of a socialist trade union and youth organizations are some of the proposals which provoked animated debates.

The Mandate Commission announced that about 70 percent of a total of 1,362 delegates were taking part in a congress for the first time. 1,200 of them have higher or college education. 180 of the delegates are representatives of the Alternative Socialist Association (ASA) [ASO] Faction and other ideological platforms and trends advocating a radical renewal.

At a news conference Mr. Aleksandur Tomov, leader of Demos [Movement for Democratic Socialism]—one of the ideological platforms within the BSP, specified that the groups representing the different trends in the BSP would be differentiated on Monday [24 September], when the new leadership is to be elected. In his opinion the change has no other alternative and the only danger of a split is the victory of the neo-Stalinist forces something he believes would hardly happen.

At the same news conference Mr. Dimitur Yonchev and Mr. Filip Bokov both members of the former leadership of the BSP, stated that the new things could be seen even by looking at the age of the delegates. Mr. Yonchev said that the BSP should part with those who are unable to work by paying due attention to the new conditions.

The allegation was refuted that the burning of the BSP headquarters was the signal for the conservative forces' taking the offensive. In connection with the outrages on the building of the BSP Supreme Council on August 26, Mr. Bokov made it clear that it is important for the special parliamentary commission find out not only the direct participants in it, but the instigators and the circumstances which led to this act as well.

## Bokov Says Radicals 'Gaining'

*AU2309173190 Sofia BTA in English 1610 GMT 23 Sep 90*

[Text] The radicals in the BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party] are gaining in quality, but they cannot turn it into quantity yet, Mr. Filip Bokov stated at a news conference today. He said that as of this morning the radicals have been on the offensive, but most of the delegates are rather centrist-minded.

Mr. Petur-Emil Mitev, leader of the Road to Europe Ideological Platform of the BSP, told the journalists he did not believe in the possibility of the conservatives and the radicals at the congress ending in a "draw," pointing out that if it should happen, it would be a loss for the whole party.

Mr. Petur-Emil Mitev and Mr. Valentin Vatsev, another radical and leader of the ASA [Alternative Socialist Association—ASO] faction, said that the inevitability of carrying out of personnel changes in the BSP was the cause for the mounting tension in the congress hall. Both spoke in favor of the replacement of the former leader of the BSP, Mr. Aleksandur Lilov, the replacement of the Presidium and the resignation of the socialist ministers from their posts in the BSP governing bodies.

Unity or a split? Mr. Valentin Vatsev said that now the forces who are fighting for the "imposition of uniformity" hide themselves under the motto of unity. The ASA leader, however, considers, that a split would be dangerous now, because the BSP is still connected with the state and such an act would cause a lot of harm.

Mr. Petur-Emil Mitev considers that the opposition is also to be blamed for the present condition of the BSP. If the BSP comes down from the political scene, as the opposition wishes, the present BSP members will not go over to the Union of Democratic Forces, he said. They would rather set up some populist nationalistic organization, the behavior of which will be probably dangerous.

Both radical-minded members of the BSP consider that the optimal solution is the establishment of contacts between the reform-minded Socialists and the leftist forces of the opposition.

The BSP needs a new image, it would be a fatal mistake if its members fail to realize it, Prime Minister Andrey Lukanov said in his speech delivered at the BSP congress today. He called upon his fellow party-men to be more resolute. In the name of the historical chance of the BSP we should find the strength to yield the leadership to new people, Mr. Lukanov underlined. His speech was received with applause.

Speaking about himself, Mr. Lukanov said he was not trying to shun responsibility. "Taking the guilty personally to task bringing them to court included, is a problem that brooks no delay for the BSP, he underlined.

Mr. Lukanov stressed the necessity to implement a radical economic reform, pointing out it was the only way out. "And this is the point of the greatest controversy for us, the Socialists, because the social price that is to be paid is high," he said. He asked his fellow partymen for understanding and support. "Stop scaring us with the reform, Comrade Lukanov," a delegate said to her colleague sitting next to her. In a radio interview today the prime minister stated he would not hesitate to pursue the policy the country needs, even if he is not supported by his party.

"After the elections the BSP lost the initiative," Mr. Lukanov went on to say. But then he underlined that the Socialists should get out of the habit to think they have a monopoly on power, otherwise "it would be dangerous for the nation", he said.

According to Mr. Lukanov, from the point of view of history and morality the BSP should return that part of its property which it had acquired through state subsidies.

Concerning the painful problem of symbols, Mr. Lukanov considers that the BSP should not yield tribute to sectarian views; the Socialists should show common sense regarding this problem. According to the premier the congress should adopt separate resolutions on the responsibility, the party property and the symbols of the BSP.

### Threats of 'Disunion' Said False

*AU2409070890 Sofia BTA in English 1958 GMT 23 Sep 90*

[Text] Sofia, 23 Sep (BTA)—Maybe Aleksandur Lilov will hold the chairmanship of the Socialist Party, it can be heard in the congress lobbies.

"All the more that at noon he 'gagged' the radicals, by saying they were fighting for power," a delegate from the provinces thinks.

Many people say that the possibility of former President Petur Mladenov's heading the Socialists should not be ruled out. He was sharply criticized today for misleading the party, but "at this congress most unlikely things could happen".

Rumors have it that at their sessions the radicals nominated Andrey Lukanov, but he refused to take the post. In their most daring expectations, the so-called radicals hope that the congress could turn to younger people—thirty-year-old jurist Yanaki Stoilov or politologist Aleksandur Tomov, thirty six.

There is not the danger of a split of the Socialist Party, one of its reform-minded leaders, Mr. Chavdar Kyuranov, said today from the tribune of the BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party] congress. Thus he confirmed the impression most people share, that the frequently repeated threats of a disunion are false.

The greater presence of young people is characteristic of this congress, something that cannot be said about the reform-minded BSP members. As Academician Kiril Vasilev of the ASA [Alternative Socialist Association—ASO] Faction put it, it is young people who carry out both revolutions and counter-revolutions. Today the speakers criticized the BSP practice not to take care of the preparation of politicians and admitted that the opposition is much more competitive in this field.

In an interview given to a BTA reporter, Academician Kiril Vasilev expressed his concern over the frequently heard and synonymous negative characteristics of the opposition, while Prof. Chavdar Kyuranov, a former dissident, said that the opposition was seeking revenge and working for the disintegration of the Socialist Party.

Many of the delegates spoke about the forthcoming local authorities elections with great concern. In Prof. Kyuranov's opinion the BSP can win the elections, although now the situation is more to the BSP's disadvantage than it was before the parliamentary elections in June.

The unity of the BSP, BSP and power, BSP and responsibility—these were again the main topics of the debates on the second congress day. The delegates seem to be prone to admit, that the BSP should shoulder its historical responsibility, but they consider the party should not be blamed collectively. They do not object to distancing themselves from the individual BSP members on whom the blame falls. Prof. Chavdar Kyuranov mentioned the names of a lot of such people. The names of the present BSP leaders were not in the long list he made. Other speakers put forward the idea that the governing party bodies should not include people, who held high-ranking posts at the time of Todor Zhivkov's regime.

### Lilov Resigns, Declines Reelection

*AU2409094490 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 0900 GMT 24 Sep 90*

[Nina Spasova report from the Bulgarian Socialist Party Congress in Sofia; date not given—recorded]

[Excerpts] Many things have happened here in the Georgi Kirkov Hall since this morning. The debate was interrupted because the congress had fallen behind schedule. [passage omitted]

Aleksandur Lilov spoke at today's session. He assessed highly the discussion at the congress and fully accepted the criticism directed at the previous Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] Supreme Council, the Presidium, and at him personally. What concerns me most, Lilov said, is the fact that at the congress the main danger for the party—the danger of a split—was underestimated. Those who think that the issue of the political and organizational unity has been resolved deeply err, Lilov said. The most important thing now is whether the party will be able to change and bring the process which started on 10 November to an end.

Aleksandur Lilov agreed with the proposal made by the delegates to renew the party leadership. However, he nevertheless proposed that the congress keep Andrey Lukanov, Petur Mladenov, Dobri Dzhurov, Chavdar Kyuranov, Petur-Emil Mitev, and Yordan Radichkov in the party leadership, because of their wealth of experience and organizational talent. He asked that he be neither nominated nor elected to the party leadership. [passage omitted]

### Nominates Lukanov, Mladenov for Posts

*AU2409130090 Sofia BTA in English 1245 GMT 24 Sep 90*

["Lilov Disagrees With Lukanov But Nominates Him BSP Leader"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, 24 Sep (BTA)—In his impressing speech delivered this morning, the leader of the Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP), Mr. Aleksandur Lilov, expressed his disagreement with yesterday's proposal of Premier Andrey Lukanov, according to which the party leadership should be yielded to younger people.

Mr. Lilov gave in his resignation and asked not to be elected in the new leadership. At the same time he called upon the delegates to reelect Mr. Andrey Lukanov, "although he does not belong to the younger generation".

Mr. Aleksandur Lilov called for including all generations in the leadership of the BSP by reelecting Petur Mladenov "a well- experienced politician who is particularly needed, having in mind the present shortage of personnel", Dobri Dzhurov "a representative of the revolutionary generation in the party leadership", Chavdar Kyuranov a former BSP nominee for president of the country, Petur- Emil Mitev leader of the Road to Europe Platform who is over fifty years old, and the well-known Bulgarian writer Yordan Radichkov. In Mr. Lilov's opinion the idea of excluding the elder generation from the leadership of the BSP was "profoundly wrong and dangerous" he said he had "nothing to hide and nothing to be ashamed of", referring to the check up of his property carried out by the state control bodies on his initiative.

Mr. Aleksandur Lilov suggested that the new BSP leader should be "more dynamic, more able to close party's ranks, indisputable, more pragmatic and better" a formulation which definitely alludes to Prime Minister Andrey Lukanov.

According to delegates who know very well the intra-party life, Lilov has "demonstrated his nobleness of mind" by nominating Lukanov, after yesterday the latter actually demanded the resignation of the former BSP leader.

The specific formulation which Mr. Lilov made use of to give in his resignation is interpreted as an "open door" allowing him to hold the leadership, if the congress may wish so.

But is he willing to hold his post? The conditions in which the Bulgarian Socialists are fighting for their survival in a country that has been bogged up to the ears in the crisis are very dramatic, [and] the accusations that the BSP is a disguised Communist Party that keeps the unpopular heritage of bolshevism in a double-bottomed case are too sharp. The delegates to the congress could hardly be expected to allow themselves the luxury of giving way to sentimental enthusiasm with noble gestures... .

The election of governing party bodies and a new chairman this evening will probably prove it.

A lot of delegates doubt that Andrey Lukanov will be willing to take the risk of heading the BSP. It is more likely that he will refuse to take the post, motivating his refusal by the necessity to concentrate entirely on bringing Bulgaria out of the unprecedented economic crisis.

On the other hand it is Mr. Lukanov who is the strongest figure that can ensure the unity of the ruling party.

### Rose Voted New Symbol; Red Star Retained

*AU2409131890 Sofia BTA in English 1255 GMT 24 Sep 90*

["Socialists Adopt Rose as Official Symbol"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, 24 Sep (BTA)—As from today the Socialists' symbol will be the red rose, according to a resolution adopted today at the 39th Congress of the BCP [as received] after emotional discussions. The Socialists decided to keep their red flag and red star "as a historical symbol of the struggles and of the party dead."

Party symbols, when placed close to national ones, cannot be above the latter and cannot be installed on public buildings, the delegates resolved by a majority. The opposition wanted the BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party] to take such a measure, and that was also the ultimatum of the young man who threatened to set himself on fire a month ago if the "non-Bulgarian symbols" were not removed from the BSP Headquarters in Sofia and if they are retained above the state symbols.

According to estimates, 49.8 percent of the Socialist (formerly Communist) party members favored the rose symbol. "We should have at least added a thorn to the rose," a young lady delegate said in the debate, blaming the party leadership of toadyism. She described the removal of the red star as "cynicism". The old delegates who took the floor made it clear that it is hard bidding farewell to the red star.

### Bokov, Kyuranov on BSP Congress Before Opening

*AU2109202290 Sofia BTA in English 1939 GMT 21 Sep 90*

["Congress of Distancing and Consolidation"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, 21 Sep (BTA)—The present leadership of the Socialists will give in to the radicals in the party, if the latter gain the upper hand at the 39th Congress of the Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP) which opens tomorrow, it was stated today. At a news conference today the members of the Presidium of the Supreme Council, Mr. Chavdar Kyuranov and Mr. Filip Bokov, announced the number of delegates to the congress as 1,350 people, but they did not specify how strong the radical forces are. The question of the numerical strength of the BSP was not clarified too, but judging by the representation norm at the congress of one delegate representing 650 Socialists, the party must have a membership of more than 877 thousand people now, compared to 984 thousand at the time of the Socialists' previous supreme forum which took place at the beginning of the year.

The members of the BSP leadership would not like the party to split because, as they put it, this was a road other parties in Eastern Europe had gone which proved to be unfavourable. It was added that the supreme Socialist forum should be one of the Socialists' distancing themselves from all discredited party members, but also a forum of consolidation of the reform-minded forces.

Mr. Kyuranov defined the congress as political, explaining that attention would centre on political and economic problems mainly and not on the ones of theory and organization. At the same time he pointed out the importance of the discussions related to the party's ideological, organizational, structural and personnel renewal.

The congress may go on for three days. The participants will discuss and adopt a platform, a statute and a programme for action of the party in the new conditions. It is expected that a political report will be presented, too.

Replying a question about the life expectancy of the present government, Mr. Bokov said that it would depend on the radicalness of the reforms it would implement and on the readiness of the parliamentary forces to cooperate. Mr. Chavdar Kyuranov said that the cabinet's life expectancy depends on how long the BSP would hold its parliamentary majority, immediately adding that the present government had got to implement unpopular measures.

Mr. Kyuranov said that he personally considers there is nothing to be afraid of if the BSP goes in opposition, but that he is worried by the tendency of revenge-seeking among the opposition, which the former BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] gave way to 45 years ago.

### Lukanov Formally Proposes Government to Assembly

*AU2309164290 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 20 Sep 90 pp 1, 2*

[Address by Andrey Lukanov, chairman of the Bulgarian Council of Ministers, at the 34th Session of the Seventh Grand National Assembly held in Sofia on 19 September]

[Text] Esteemed Mr. Chairman, esteemed National Assembly deputies, on 30 August 1990 you entrusted me with conducting consultations in connection with the establishment of a new government. In implementing your assignment I held numerous meetings over the last three weeks with leaders of political parties represented in parliament and with representatives of other social forces. I also met with distinguished public figures and specialists to search for possibilities for the formation of an authoritative government. The few meetings attended by Zhelyu Zhelev, president of the Republic, were of great importance, in my view. I feel obliged to express my gratitude to him for his assistance and for the constructive approach he manifested in all stages of the aforementioned consultations.

I also express my gratitude to all those who responded to my invitation for talks.

I must express our common feeling that the trying three-month period related to the efforts to establish a new government represented a serious test for our political maturity and for the real and not rhetorical readiness to place the nation's vital interests above narrow-minded party interests and personal ambitions. Without daring to express any qualified judgment on the matter, I nevertheless, must express my regret that the results of the test were unsatisfactory. Despite the unmistakable preference of our people's majority and the positive interest of our partners abroad, we did not succeed in forming a government of national consensus and mutual confidence at this stage. We failed to achieve this goal, despite the fact that Bulgaria needed and still badly needs such a government.

The proposal submitted to us by the president of the Republic in his speech delivered last Friday [14 September] in parliament aroused my hopes. On the basis of his speech, we made additional contacts within the framework of a special commission and at the level of the political forces'leading bodies. We actually reached an agreement on the chief programmatic trends concerning the future government's activities which should have served as prerequisites for the participation of public figures from various sides of the Bulgarian political spectrum in the future government. Nevertheless, even this last chance granted to us by the president's initiative was missed.

I think that it would be unnecessary to dwell any further on the development of the consultations. I would just like to point out that regardless of their unsatisfactory results they were not useless. The consultations made it

possible for us more clearly to define the spheres of consensus in connection with the future government's activities, spheres which are likely to represent a basis for the necessary parliamentary support to our government. Under all circumstances, I am obliged to propose the cabinet list for the discussion and approval of the Grand National Assembly, a cabinet in which representatives of the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] and representatives of some other parliamentary groups will not participate.

In this respect I owe the National Assembly the following explanation. It is a well-known fact that I repeatedly declared in my public statements that I am unwilling to assume the leadership of a one-party government on the grounds that I do not consider this an adequate solution for the present difficult and complicated stage of development of democratic processes in our country. I still hold this opinion and I am ready to do everything within my power in the future to achieve the formation of a government based on national consensus. Despite all this, I accepted my party's assignment to form a government without the participation of all major political parties, because I think that a further postponement of the government issue and all efforts searching for other solutions are likely to aggravate the process of destabilization and to provoke a political chaos entailing all the imaginable disastrous consequences for civil peace, for the socioeconomic situation, and for Bulgaria's international prestige.

I would specially like to emphasize that, irrespective of the party affiliations of its members, the future government should, in my view, act as a party government in the true sense of the word. The exceptional situation in which the country is placed makes it necessary for the government to be guided in its work primarily by the national interests and priorities, and to strive to express this to the maximum through its policy of national consensus. In this sense, the government will make systematic efforts to maintain a constructive dialogue with the parliamentary forces, the public and political structures and movements outside parliament, and the mass media. I would like to believe that the parliamentary groups and people's deputies will mutually support and respond to this striving for dialogue and consensus.

Moreover, the government should remain open to the participation of all those who want and are able to make a contribution to resolving the most pressing problems affecting the entire nation. In this context, I want to propose that we revert to the idea, which met with general approval a certain time ago, of representatives of the relevant commissions of the Grand National Assembly participating in the work of the collective leaderships of the ministries, and of the government as a whole. I believe that this practice will considerably expand the mutual exchange of information and will also improve the cooperation between the government and the Grand National Assembly as the supreme organ of state power at the stage when legislative and executive decisions are being worked out.

From the structural viewpoint the government which I will propose does not differ substantially from the previous one. This does not imply that structural changes are not necessary. It is evident that the conduct of in-depth political, administrative, economic, and social reforms objectively requires adequate changes in the structure, functions, and method of organization of the central state organs.

I do not propose such changes for the following two main reasons:

—first, because the structural changes, if considered outside the context of the reforms themselves, would represent yet another improvisation and would hardly be final and lasting;

—along with this, we cannot fail to take note that the economy and society are now in a state of extreme instability, even unmanageability, and that the new regulators and administrative levers have not been created and put into effect; in this situation, structural changes divorced from essential reforms can hardly solve any problems, but will certainly create further disorganization.

Having said this, I wish immediately to stress the necessity for us to make a start from this moment on further cuts in the central administrative apparatus and on redirecting the cadres in the ministries, while their selection should be exclusively based on their professional skills and zeal. In addition, the government will prepare, and submit to the Grand National Assembly together with its reform program, a complete proposal on structural changes in the central organs of executive power, which are aimed at finally eliminating the methods of administration by directives and ensuring consistent democratization of social and economic life.

For the reasons described, at this stage I propose only partial structural changes, namely the closing down of the State and People's Control Committee, the setting up of a Ministry of Employment and Social Welfare, and the reorganization of the Ministry of Transport into a Ministry of Transport and Communications, which will also take over the functions of the Committee on Communications which has existed to date. I also consider it necessary, after the government has been formed, for the committees that have existed until now to be closed down, and their functions assumed by the ministries or specialized state agencies. This is the basis upon which we should reorganize the work in the fields of energy supply, statistics, customs control, nuclear safety and the peaceful use of nuclear energy, forestry and forest industry, and geology.

When the law on state property and privatization is debated, the government will propose the setting up of a special agency on state property and privatization.

Esteemed people's deputies, it is impossible in a preliminary declaration to set out in detail the program intentions of the future government. It would be correct for

the program and its activity to be presented to the Grand National Assembly after discussion with the newly appointed ministers. For this reason, and relying on the consensus reached during the consultation, I want to propose that the government submits for the Grand National Assembly's approval, within two weeks, a specific program for its actions during the period until the end of this year. In accordance with the government's general program, the ministers should be ready to present to the relevant commissions of the Grand National Assembly their own views on the working programs, structures, and budgets of the ministries in their charge.

After discussion in the committees, the Grand National Assembly should approve as soon as possible the government's program and amendments to the budget, making efforts to achieve a parliamentary consensus.

Within this brief period of about 100 days, specific measures must be taken both to effect the maximum stabilization of the socioeconomic situation and to make integrated preparations for launching the essential reforms. Here I would like to stress yet again my firm conviction that the stabilization measures should not be considered outside the general strategy and logic of the reform, which is aimed at creating an economic system of the market type, based on the existence on an equal footing of all forms of ownership and their organizational and legal forms. It is clear to us that, within the framework of the existing system, it is impossible in principle to resolve the complex problems which the country now faces. The need for integrated, decisive, and speedy actions is predetermined not by the wishes or platform of some political force or other, but by the intensity of the crisis.

This period should also be used to conduct multilateral and bilateral negotiations with our country's chief partners, in order to elucidate and as far as possible solve the issues connected with rescheduling our foreign debt obligations, providing the vitally important recourses for the national economy, granting financial support within the framework of a clear and convincing program for economic stabilization and reforms, and creating prerequisites for increasing the flow of financial resources and investments into our country. In this context, the talks to be held in October with the IMF and the EC are of particular importance. They should be conducted by a team including both government representatives and representatives of the relevant Grand National Assembly commissions.

Negotiations—extremely important for us—also lie ahead with the Soviet Government and the leaderships of certain union republics on the basic issues of economic relations in connection with the transition to a new price basis and a new system of payment settlements.

Within the framework of this preparatory 100-day period, the government, in close cooperation with the Grand National Assembly, should pay particular attention to the legislative regulation and practical solution of such priority issues as the following:

1. Drafting and adopting a code of commercial law, which will replace Decree No. 56 and provide real and unconditional guarantees for the existence of all forms of ownership on an equal legal footing.

2. Starting in practice the process of privatization and the removal of the monopoly of state ownership, giving priority at this stage to the so-called "small privatization" and to restoring the rights and opportunities for development of the cooperatives.

3. Adopting a law on the land and land use, and creating this very year real conditions for the broad development of private agriculture alongside the cooperative form.

4. Working out and drawing up the taxation reform, which is to ensure that our tax system is adapted toward the legislation and practice in the developed states and plays an increased role in indirectly regulating the economic processes, limiting inflation, and stimulating production. In this context, it is especially important to make preparations for the introduction of a value added tax and a progressive tax on property and incomes. Within the framework of this reform, tax incentives must be provided for the newly formed non-state enterprises (private, cooperative, and joint stock companies), which provide real growth in production and services.

5. Carrying out, in close association with the privatization, the tax reform, changes in interest rates policy, measures to remove monopolies and encourage competition, and measures for further price liberalization.

6. Speedily building up the basic structures which ensure the functioning of the market economy: stock and commodity exchanges; a labor market; pension, insurance, investment, and other funds which are independent of the state, and so on.

7. Speedily completing the reform of the banking system and changing over to a new interest rates policy based on the "dear money" principle, but also including mechanisms for stimulating production.

8. Stopping the growth of the domestic debt, reducing and removing subsidies, providing new sources of budget receipts through privatization and the issue of securities and bonds.

These are only some of the measures which are included in the government's short-term program. In addition to these, the program must contain all necessary measures to ensure social protection and fair distribution of the burden of economic stabilization, and in particular, the following:

—introduction of the indexation of incomes, in parallel with the measures listed above;

—measures for limiting unemployment and redirecting laid off workers and specialists to other work;

—updating of pensions

—adoption of a social security law and creating prerequisites for setting up the main social funds;

—more effective protection of the interests of young people and students; and

—finding solutions to the most urgent financial and material problems of the national health care and social security systems, and so forth.

It is of particular importance for the Bulgarian citizen in his everyday life to find the most favorable solutions for the serious problems which have emerged in the fields of energy supply and the supply of food products to the large towns. By the end of September, the government will be in a position to inform the Grand National Assembly about the measures which it plans and the available possibilities for solving these vitally important problems during the autumn and winter.

In order to stabilize the domestic market and restore social justice, which has been violated, it is essential to press on with the examination of the draft law on combating speculation which has been submitted to the Grand National Assembly, and on this basis mobilize the efforts, not only of the special state organs, but also of the whole of the public to decisively limit manifestations of speculation, corruption, and smuggling, which have become so widespread as to present a risk to society. Of course, we must clearly understand that the chief remedy for these phenomena is the consistent implementation of the principles of the economic reform and the creation of stable legal conditions for regulating economic life, in accordance with the experience of the advanced states.

In addition to these basic measures in the economic and social fields, the government will have to make its own contribution to accelerating the political and administrative reforms, finally dismantling the totalitarian structures and stratifications, and consistently democratizing the state organs and the administrative apparatuses of central and local government.

In this connection, it will be particularly important to adopt laws on the local organs of authority, on the elections of local organs of authority, on the police, on the mass media, and on improving the procedures for holding meetings, rallies, demonstrations, and so on.

It is also necessary to complete the examination of the issues connected with the pressing problems relating to the administrative and territorial division of the country.

In the conditions of the market economy, it will also be necessary to discuss and adopt adequate decisions to protect national science, education, and culture from the consequences of the economic crisis, and to create conditions for the further denationalization and democratization of these vitally important fields, which can and must make a substantial contribution to surmounting the crisis and developing the Bulgarian nation during the upcoming new historical period.

I would not like to conclude this brief statement without saying some words on the subject of public order.

The development of events in Bulgaria during recent weeks and the domestic and international reaction which they have provoked have clearly shown that the success of the transition toward a democratic society and a market economy which we have begun depends to a decisive extent on our ability to ensure public order and stability in Bulgaria. Unless we do this, we will not only threaten civil peace but will also gain the sad reputation of being the new "sick man" of Europe. Our people do not deserve this fate. Therefore the government, relying on the recommendations of the Grand National Assembly, will do everything possible within the framework of its legal powers to maintain public order and put a stop to all manifestations which are incompatible with the Constitution and Bulgarian laws. In this difficult and often thankless task, the government and its specialized organs will be counting on your understanding and support.

It would also be of great importance for the success of the reforms to declare a moratorium for a certain period on strikes and other manifestations of social conflicts, while attempts should be made to settle disputes through the newly created forms of trilateral dialogue and by the other means provided under our laws.

In this statement I have primarily dealt with the government's short-term tasks. Within the next two months, the government will also have to submit to you its program views on the next stage of the political, economic, and social reforms in Bulgaria. These reforms will be implemented on a new legislative basis, which the Grand National Assembly has the task of providing. In this connection, I state my complete agreement with the view of the president of the Republic on the main legislative priorities in the work of parliament, and express my readiness to cooperate closely with the parliamentary commissions in preparing appropriate laws.

Esteemed people's deputies, the country is entering the decisive phase of our democratic revolution under exceptionally difficult conditions. What today is an acute crisis may develop into a national disaster unless all the public and political forces, especially those represented in parliament, manage in some form or other to combine their efforts and mobilize the nation's entire moral, intellectual, and material potential in order to bring the nation out of the crisis and ensure it a worthy place among the civilized peoples. If we fail to do this,

the catastrophe may indeed ensue, and it will be necessary to seek those responsible for it not only in the recent past, but also in the present-day Bulgarian political scene.

As far as the government is concerned, it will be ready to totally assume its own responsibilities. Some people are calling it a government of self-sacrifice. Let us not be hasty in drawing such conclusions, all the more because, contrary to certain delusions, the failure of the government would be the failure of all, irrespective of their party persuasions. Far better, let us seek again and again the things which may unite us in the name of the great goal which has brought us together here, namely the peace, calm, and prosperity of the Bulgarian people, and the security and advance of our state.

Thank-you for your attention.

### Government Voted In; SDS Delegates Protest

*AU2109120790 Sofia BTA in English 0743 GMT 21 Sep 90*

[Text] Sofia, 21 Sep (BTA)—After a stormy debate late last night, parliament voted in the government named by Prime Minister Mr. Andrey Lukanov. Only 219 of the 400 M.P.'s took part in the election. The Union of Democratic Forces (SDS) M.P.'s walked out of the vote, saying they did not oppose the election of that government but rather the procedure by which it was being endorsed. "Bulgaria already has a government elected by an undemocratic parliamentary procedure, but the SDS wishes it success and reiterates that it will be a constructive opposition," said Mr. Stoyan Ganev M.P., spokesman for the SDS, after the result of the voting was announced. He was the only member of the SDS parliamentary faction who remained in the chamber. The Bulgarian Agrarian Party (BZNS) and the Movement for Rights and Freedoms declared their readiness to cooperate with the new cabinet.

Mr. Lukanov's three deputies are all high-ranking Socialists. The new cabinet includes merely three independents. Seven ministers keep their former portfolios. Four previous deputy ministers become ministers in the new government.

Mr. Atanas Paparizov, the new minister of foreign economic relations, is a well-known expert in his field. He represented Bulgaria at the negotiations on its accession to GATT and at the signing of the trade and economic cooperation agreement with the European Communities.

Mr. Lyuben Gotsev, formerly deputy minister of foreign affairs, is Bulgaria's new chief diplomat.

Mr. Valeri Tsekov, minister of trade and services, was deputy minister so far and has amassed "considerable experience in this field, he is intellectually and politically committed to the reform in the services sector."

Prof. Dimitur Dimov, an independent, who heads the Ministry of Culture, is a prominent violinist and professor at the Sofia Conservatoire. He organized the Apollonia Art Festival, which has been held for seven years now, and several other cultural forums.

The Ministry of National Defence is headed by Colonel General Yordan Mutafchiev, so far deputy minister. "He rose from the ranks," the prime minister said about him.

Mr. Pencho Penev keeps his internal affairs portfolio which was assigned to him recently. He is a qualified lawyer and was minister of justice in the previous Lukanov administration.

Mrs. Emiliya Maslarova is a social problems expert, a research associate at the institute with the Ministry of the Economy and Planning, and was elected to head the newly established Ministry of Employment and Social Welfare. She is a senior member of the Democratic Women's Union.

Prof. Dr. Ivan Chernozemski, a specialist in oncology, remains minister of health.

Mr. Matei Mateev and Prof. Iliya Konev are newcomers to the government. They were chosen ministers of national education and of science and higher education, respectively. Mr. Mateev lectures at Sofia University. He was deputy rector of the university and deputy minister of national education. Prof. Konev, an independent who was elected M.P. on the BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party] list, is rector of the Higher Institute of Teaching in Blagoevgrad. He has written papers in Slavonic and Bulgarian studies. He has taught at the Universities of Leipzig and Goettingen.

Mr. Atanas Popov assumes the transport and communications portfolio. He was chairman of the Communications Association. He has graduated the Moscow Institute of Transport Engineering.

Mr. Ivan Krustev is minister of construction and territorial organization.

Prof. Aleksandur Aleksandrov will go on serving as minister of the environment. He is director of the Forest Institute with the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences. "He has proved that he is uncompromising on ecological problems," Mr. Lukanov said about him.

Other cabinet members who keep their portfolios from the previous government are Mr. Belcho Belchev, minister of finance (concurrently deputy prime minister), Mr. Todor Pandov, minister of agriculture and the food industry, and Mrs. Nora Ananieva, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers. Mr. Georgi Pirinski, Mr. Lukanov's third deputy, is now member of the BSP senior leadership. He was previously deputy minister of foreign economic relations.

Mr. Lukanov has yet to nominate ministers of justice, of the economy and planning and of industry and technology.

### Zhelev Pledges Full Support to New Government

*AU2109150490 Sofia BTA in English 1416 GMT 21 Sep 90*

[Text] Sofia, 21 Sep (BTA)—President Zhelyu Zhelev will support the new government with all his might and powers in its efforts to overcome the crisis, the spokesman for the president, Mr. Valentin Stoyanov, stated the position of the president on Mr. Andrey Lukanov's cabinet approved last night. The president considers that by failing to form a programme government both the country and the two major political forces missed their chance—the Union of Democratic Forces could have gained experience in the executive and the Bulgarian Socialist Party could have used the economic experts of the opposition who, as Premier Lukanov admitted, rank among the most competent economists in Bulgaria.

At the news conference in the Presidency the journalists were informed about the meetings Bulgaria's president will have during the session of the United Nations General Assembly. He will probably have a meeting with President George Bush in Washington or New York. Dr. Zhelev will have talks with Mr. Turgut Ozal, president of Turkey; Mr. Vaclav Havel, president of Czechoslovakia; Mr. Borislav Jovic, president of Yugoslavia; Mr. David Levi, deputy prime minister and minister of foreign affairs of Israel; Mr. Giulio Andreotti, prime minister of Italy; Mr. Edgar Bronfman, chairman of the World Jewish Congress; and with the prime ministers of Sweden and Ireland. Not all meetings have been confirmed yet.

On October 5 Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev will arrive in France where he will have talks with the president of France, Mr. Francois Mitterrand, and probably with members of the French cabinet.

### Support Comes From 'Inner Conviction'

*AU2209153690 Sofia BTA in English 1227 GMT 22 Sep 90*

[Text] Sofia, 22 Jan (BTA)—In an interview given to VECHERNI NOVINI President Zhelyu Zhelev says he will help and support Premier Lukanov's government "not only because this is his obligation specified in the Constitution, but also because this is his inner conviction." He considers the taking of "drastic measures" to combat profiteering, black marketing and corruption as the primary task of the government. The Bulgarian people should get convinced that the administration of the country is capable of defending their interests and protecting them against violence, if it appears, the president notes.

Mr. Zhelev expresses his hope that when the people are convinced in the good will of the government to fight the economic crisis and start sweeping and serious reforms in all fields of economic and political life, their discontent will be diminished. Each government which is ready to commit itself to the implementation of radical economic reforms for the sake of the country's future should be helped along, the president points out.

### Zhelev Consults Parties on Civil Peace Measures

*AU2309191390 Sofia BTA in English 1717 GMT 23 Sep 90*

[Text] Sofia, 23 Sep (BTA)—The president of Bulgaria, Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev, convened a meeting of the leaders of the Bulgarian Socialist Party, the Union of Democratic Forces, the Bulgarian Agrarian Party and the National Security Council. The meeting was held in connection with the growing political confrontation and the mounting social tension which might be made use of by certain extremist forces not only to attack the Grand National Assembly, but the institutions created by the latter in accordance with the country's Constitution, too. The other reason for the meeting was the fact that for a certain time president Zhelyu Zhelev, Prime Minister Andrey Lukanov and the Grand National Assembly chairman, Mr. Nikolay Todorov, will be away from the country.

The participants agreed measures aimed at guaranteeing normal conditions for the furthering of the democratic processes and reforms in the country, which the president approved.

The parties, movements and all other public forces are recommended to abstain from holding rallies, demonstrations and other street drives until the beginning of the local authorities election campaign.

The appeal made by the chairman of the Council of Ministers for a moratorium on strikes and other forms of exerting pressure on the activity of the parliament, the government and the local administration will be supported.

The Bulgarian Television, the Bulgarian Radio and the other mass media are called upon to restrain from the announcement or the publication of appeals, declarations, demands and information that might sharpen the confrontation and provoke manifestations that would pose a threat to civil peace.

The law-enforcement authorities should take all necessary measures to cut short any acts which run contrary to the Constitution and this country's law.

### Zhelev Wants Rehabilitation of Political Figures

*AU2309191290 Sofia BTA in English 1736 GMT 23 Sep 90*

["President Calls for Rectification of a Historical Injustice"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, 23 Sep (BTA)—The president of Bulgaria, Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev, has addressed the chairman of the Supreme Court, appealing for the implementation of measures which, in his opinion, will contribute to the

assertion of the authority of the independent judiciary and the stabilization of the political situation in the country and will increase Bulgaria's international prestige.

The question is about the legal rehabilitation of the people who have been sentenced at a number of political trials in the last 40 years: evangelical pastors, catholic priests, the opposition leaders G. M. Dimitrov and Tsenko Barev, the journalists Petur Semerdzhiev and Vladimir Kostov, the man of letters Atanas Slavov.

These are not the only people who were unjustly sentenced due to political considerations and who should be rehabilitated, the president points out. Many of them are still emigrants living abroad and the sentences they got prevent them from returning to their motherland.

According to the powers I am given by the Constitution, I can reprieve the persons sentenced at such political trials, the president writes. But I consider, however, that from a moral and legal point of view they should be rehabilitated through a court of law, points out.

The position stated by me should not be considered an attempt to interfere in the work of the judiciary. It is an expression of my concern about the authority of the Bulgarian justice and of the desire to rectify a historical injustice, the president says.

Now, when we are building up a new democratic Bulgaria with common efforts, the assumption of responsibility on the part of the three really separated powers is the true way of doing away with the totalitarian heritage, it is pointed out in the letter.

### Lukanov: One-Party System Not 'Proper Variant'

*AU2109204690 Sofia BTA in English 2023 GMT 21 Sep 90*

["Government's Success Depends on Reforms"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, 21 Sep (BTA)—The fate of the government is in its own hands. The situation is extremely complicated to go with the tide. If the government adopts a line of sweeping and decisive reforms, it will be a successful one, but it should also receive parliamentary and public support. This was Mr. Andrey Lukanov's answer to the predictions that his new one-party cabinet would be short-lived. In a television interview aired this evening he said he still considers that the one-party government is not the proper variant, but it turned out to be the only possible one.

According to Premier Andrey Lukanov the short-term programme for the first one hundred days, the implementation of measures for the revival of the economy and for starting the privatization, the preparation for the autumn and the winter period and paving the way for the second phase of the economic reform are the most important tasks the government has got to solve first.

No split between the executive and the parliament would occur through the fault of the government, the premier of the government which was elected yesterday declared, stressing once more the refusal of opposition to enter a coalition with the socialists.

Mr. Andrey Lukanov defined the election of the government which was held without the participation of the Union of Democratic Forces as a "psychological wound" that the government would seek to cure. The premier showed his readiness for cooperation with the parliamentary opposition.

I am not the man who would allow any totalitarian recidivism, he stated, but promised more firmness in keeping public peace and observing the law. We would be different from the great tolerance that has been consciously shown up to now for the sake of the peaceful transition to democracy, he went on to say.

Mr. Lukanov expressed his opinion that some features of Bolshevism now are rather "characteristic of other political forces" than the Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP). According to him the danger of the conservative forces within the BSP is exaggerated. A split is possible only if the reform line does not gain the upper hand, the Socialist premier said. If the reform-minded forces win, the BSP will be able to play an important role in the social life, which does not mean that it should always be the ruling party, Mr. Lukanov stated.

### New Council of Ministers Holds First Meeting

*AU2109184590 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 21 Sep 90*

[Text] Today the new Council of Ministers elected by the Grand National Assembly met for the first time.

Prime Minister Andrey Lukanov thanked the members of the previous government, who were invited to the meeting. He congratulated the newly elected ministers on the courage and civic awareness they had displayed in taking on their responsible tasks at this juncture.

Andrey Lukanov pointed out that the new cabinet should not be regarded as a one-party cabinet in carrying out its mission; it must express all the national interests. This makes it necessary for the ministers to establish as much as possible a democratic, decentralized approach in their work and ensure maximum autonomy in making decisions and taking actions.

The present situation does not permit us to coordinate decisions in a bureaucratic way, Andrey Lukanov declared, adding that the [word indistinct] problems will be dealt with only through joint discussion and coordination of actions.

At the meeting three main tasks were defined which the government must resolve during the coming days, weeks, and months: the preparation as soon as possible of the government's program; work on the most acute and

urgent problems in the economic and social spheres; and the preparation of the next phase of the reform.

The meeting devoted a considerable part of its time to the issue of cooperation between the government and the Grand National Assembly. It was pointed out that the appearance of ministers before parliament, giving replies to questions from the people's deputies, and continuous live contact with the supreme legislative institution as a whole are important factors for establishing the government's authority and ensuring its successful work.

In the course of the next few days, the Council of Ministers will determine the functions of the individual ministries under the conditions of the new structure of the state institutions, and will consider the issue of their staff membership.

### Staff Opposes Closure of State Control Committee

*AU2209153390 Sofia BTA in English 2109 GMT 21 Sep 90*

["Nomenclature Fears Control"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, 21 Sep (BTA)—Who is afraid of state control? The operative workers of the Committee for State and People's Control which was closed down yesterday answered this question in the following way: the present and past nomenclature. At a news conference today they put forward their arguments to show that the closure of this body of state power, which was proposed by the chairman of the Council of Ministers and approved by the Grand National Assembly, is ungrounded.

Until recently silent and sparing of information as to the abuses committed by high-ranking officials, today the inspectors [words indistinct] many people of the former leadership of the country. With unconcealed disappointment they said that it was not only the inspectors who go, but also "the crimes committed by the former ruling nomenclature and the leaders of the Bulgarian Socialist (formerly Communist) Party documented in the archives of the committee."

In a declaration addressed to the Grand National Assembly, the president of the Republic and the chairman of the Council of Ministers, copies of which were handed over to the journalists, they say: "We, the operative workers of the Committee for State and People's Control, know best where the archives evidencing the grave economic crimes are and what the exact facts and causes for the national catastrophe are—a statement we can prove by presenting concrete evidence."

The specialists distanced themselves from the present and former managements of the committee and declared themselves to be for the full depolitization of the control. A great part of the operative workers, now freed from totalitarian restrictions and political biases, are capable of continuing their work in this situation of growing black marketeering and destabilization of the economy. The former management failed to defend the place and the role of control in the new political and economic conditions, because it was far away from any professionalism and served its political interests, they said.

### Provisional Executive Committee Formed in Burgas

*AU2409083790 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 0800 GMT 24 Sep 90*

[Text] The consultations of the leaders of the political forces in Burgas, represented in the Grand National Assembly ended. An agreement was reached to form a Provisional Executive Committee and present it for approval to the chairman of the Council of Ministers. The organ includes four representatives of the Bulgarian Socialist Party, four of the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS], two of the Bulgarian Agrarian National Union, and from the Fatherland Union.

Atanas Demirev of the SDS was proposed chairman of the Provisional Executive Committee.

### Chief Prosecutor Permits Trenchev To Go Abroad

*AU2109150690 Sofia BTA in English 1343 GMT 21 Sep 90*

[Text] Sofia, 21 Sep (BTA)—At the president's request the prosecutor general of the Republic has permitted the leader of the Podkrepa Confederation of Labour (a member of the Union of Democratic Forces), Dr. Konstantin Trenchev, to make a trip abroad, the spokesman for the president, Mr. Valentin Stoyanov, told journalists today. The permit allows Dr. Trenchev, who has been invited to participate in an international trade union conference, to go to Vienna, where the latter is to be held.

In connection with the burning of the headquarters of the Bulgarian Socialist Party, Dr. Konstantin Trenchev was accused of inducement and his foreign passport was taken away. Mr. Valentin Stoyanov said that Podkrepa activists launched a vigorous campaign aimed at creating the impression in the Bulgarian and the world public that the Podkrepa leader's human rights had been violated.

The impression is that the vigorous campaign in Europe and America is aimed at influencing the investigation and Dr. Trenchev's drawing political dividends at the expense of Bulgaria's national interests and that at a moment when the country urgently needs international political and economic assistance to overcome the serious crisis, the president's spokesman said in his statement.

Mr. Stoyanov pointed out that Dr. Trenchev could have gone to Vienna earlier, had he made the necessary steps by referring the matter to the respective competent authorities in accordance with the Bulgarian legislation.

### Zhelev Will Emphasize Reform During U.S. Visit

*AU2309190590 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 23 Sep 90*

[Text] A short while ago Bulgarian Television carried an interview with Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev, chairman [president] of the Republic, on the occasion of his forthcoming visit to the United States.

Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev pointed out that during the visit he will try to assert the new image of Bulgaria as a democratic state.

Undoubtedly, the compassion we could evoke and the support of our efforts we could generate, depend on this, the president said. I would like to eliminate the extremely unfavorable image of Bulgaria, that we inherited from the previous regime. The facts I would point out in the attempt to assert the new image are the roundtable, which was a political school for all, the elections for the Grand National Assembly, and our parliament, which is picking up speed and will undoubtedly adopt important laws soon. We also have a free press, independent television and radio, and other elements of the new reality.

Our democratic opposition has consolidated, albeit its position is not always constructive. In addition it does not always utilize the possibilities it has.

I could part with the presidential post without any theatrics, Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev said, because I do not want a political career. This is not my goal.

### Purpose of Visit To Affirm 'New Image'

*AU2309194790 Sofia BTA in English 1921 GMT 23 Sep 90*

[Text] Sofia, 23 Sep (BTA)—Today President Zhelyu Zhelev said that the main purpose of his forthcoming visit to the United States and France is to affirm Bulgaria's new image, which is no longer a communist state, but a country of emerging democracy.

It will be Dr. Zhelev's first trip abroad after on August 1, 1990 he was elected the first non-communist president of Bulgaria in the last 45 years. He will deliver a speech before the General Assembly of the United Nations, he will hold meetings with President George Bush and the leaders of other countries and on October 5 he will be in Paris for a meeting with France's President, Mr. Francois Mitterrand.

In a television interview aired this evening the president said that now the sympathy and the aid the country could receive depend on Bulgaria's new image.

It is necessary to erase the old, utterly unfavorable image of Bulgaria, which is a heritage of the past totalitarian regime. In the eyes of a great part of the world, throughout Zhivkov's rule Bulgaria was treated as a country in which all negative political phenomenon were concentrated, the president said.

Among the achievements of democracy which he will put forward as arguments Dr. Zhelev mentioned the roundtable talks held on the insistence of the opposition, the free elections for Grand National Assembly, the Parliament which is already working, the organized opposition, the freedom of the press, the Bulgarian Television and Radio which are independent to a great extent.

Dr. Zhelev repeated his position stated in his address to the Bulgarian Parliament a week ago by saying that the program government he proposed would have been better for the country. But in his opinion now there is an original separation of powers and the fact that the government is a socialist one is not so dramatic.

In my opinion the presidential institution provides me with the possibility to continue to fight for democracy. For me it is a continuation of my political activity in the last 25 years both as a scholar and as a leader of the organized opposition. I would not feel it keenly, if I have to part with the Presidency, Dr. Zhelev said.

"I am not after making a political career for myself."

According to President Zhelev, now the situation of the democratic opposition is much better, because it is a decisive factor in the parliament and can block any non-democratic decisions or laws. But it is not using its positions constructively enough, the president said.

According to him, each unbiased Western politician should realize that what is happening in Bulgaria is worthy of sympathy. Sympathy for the people, and not for the former Communist Party, he added.

Bulgaria has not always been outside the field of vision of the policy of the United States, the president said. Naturally, the Iron Curtain isolated us. But now that things took a different turn, the interest of the United States in the changes brought about in the country has been aroused.

He underlined that Bulgaria needs humanitarian aid first of all to overcome the severe inflation, the total shortage and the power supply crisis. Unlike the previous regime, we are not shy to admit that we are in an extremely grave situation, Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev said.

He pointed out that the transition to a real market economy involves the complete opening of the country to the outside world and especially to the developed Western countries.

Dr. Zhelev is ready to discuss the idea of forming a special presidential fund for receiving aid from the West.

It is absurd to think that Bulgaria can be pushed back to the past. People have changed, their way of thinking is different now. They are no longer the people sunk in deep totalitarian lethargy, President Zhelyu Zhelev said in conclusion.

**Economic Prospects Said Ruined by Zhivkov, Husayn**

*AU2109192890 Sofia BTA in English 1804 GMT 21 Sep 90*

["Bulgaria: A Forgotten Victim"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, 21 Sep (BTA, Boyko Borisov)—Dizzy with the turmoil of 10-month-old impetuous democratization, the Bulgarians are unable to understand how and why Saddam Husayn's "blitzkrieg" against defenceless Kuwait put their fate at stake, too.

Although she lies thousands of kilometres away, Bulgaria has also been hit by the invasion of Kuwait by Iraq. The rumble of tank tracks echoed here as a toll announcing the end not only of the timid hopes for a better future after 45 years of totalitarianism. The attempts to make a sober analysis of the situation inevitably boil down to the question whether Bulgaria would be the next state doomed to economic collapse after the annexation of Kuwait.

Today's economic realities shocked even the most stubborn optimists among the Bulgarians who for decades on end have been made to believe that in socialism social security is as flawless and indestructible as a natural law.

Zhivkov's regime left Bulgaria a legacy of a super-centralized economy which, with clumsy creaking and wheels that won't grab, yet managed to operate somehow. But it was at the cost of a debt amounting to ten milliard [billion] dollars, accumulated mainly through importing raw materials against hard currency and exporting to the CMEA [CEMA] markets products which the country was paid for in the inconvertible, so called transferable rubles.

Bulgaria has not been making payments under her foreign debts since March this year. At present the country is paying the interests with supreme efforts and negotiating with its foreign creditors to defer payments for at least three or five years. The state exchequer has been scraped up to the bottom and currency reserves are insignificant. As Prime Minister Andrey Lukanov announced on television, by the end of July the country's currency reserves were estimated to be to the tune of 600 million dollars, the gold bars in the basement of the National Bank included.

In the last years the receipts from Bulgaria's exports dropped to about 1.5 milliard dollars per year. And this year the drop of her production is expected to reach 15-16 percent. Therefore, even without taking into account the present increase of oil prices of about 30 dollars per barrel, next year Bulgaria would be in position to meet only half of her oil requirements of about 12-13 million tons, but only if she does not make payments on her debt and if nothing else but oil is imported.

Will the country be able to secure even that half? The system of economic relations between Bulgaria and the Soviet Union, until recently defined as "socialist internationalism in action," made it possible for the country to balance and even to strike a favourable balance in its year's trade with the USSR, where about 60 percent of Bulgarian exports go.

But what about the future? The ratio of the "currency" commodities exchange between the Soviet Union and Bulgaria is 6:1, the economic expert of the embassy of the USSR in Sofia, Mr. German Vlaskin, stated in TRUD at the beginning of August. He coolly recommended to the Bulgarians "to cut down all imports of Soviet raw materials, fuel and electric power."

If we proceed from the Soviet expert's estimation, it is perfectly normal to expect that by switching over to payments in convertible currency with the USSR as of the beginning of 1991, Bulgaria would have to reduce six times her petrol imports from the Soviet Union— her biggest supplier of oil.

All this makes much more easier to understand why the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait is felt in Bulgaria as a "coup de grace," which would probably finish off the blood-drained Bulgarian economy.

The consequences of Bulgaria's joining the United Nations trade embargo against Iraq can be summarized as follows:

This year Bulgaria will be deprived from the contracted about three million tons of Iraqi oil which were to be delivered directly or through the Soviet Union on the strength of trilateral agreements. The avalanche-like growth of the problem can be seen more than clearly by looking at the kilometres-long lines in front of the petrol stations, which herald "a cold winter," too.

Saddam Husayn's venture automatically turns Bulgaria's gross debt into a net one, depriving the Bulgarians of the last remnants of their self-confidence that, besides being debtors, they are still creditors. Sofia has no option but to swallow the bitter fact that Iraq's debt of one milliard 200 million dollars will be, if at all, paid "in an uncertain future." At least in the present circumstances, the Bulgaro-Iraqi agreement concluded this year which envisages the payment of Iraqi debt in the next four years by delivering 4.75 million tons of oil is not worth even the sheet of paper it was written on.

The fact that Libya, Nicaragua, Algeria and Egypt owe to Bulgaria another one milliard dollars adds no rosy colour to the grim picture.

It seems that both God and Allah have forgotten us, the inhabitants of Christian Sofia joke cheerlessly, while waiting in long lines for sugar, cheese and cooking oil food stuffs sold on coupons.

Several months ago, in the French LIBERATION magazine, the world-renown American scientist, Mr. John Kenneth Galbraith, recommended that the industrialized countries "should come to the aid of those who began the liberalization quickly, generously and without

hesitation." He wrote, "now the East Europeans are happy, they are experiencing a great moment of freedom. Really, it would be a tragedy, if they identify freedom with unemployment, inflation and economic misery."

Really.

### Oil, Trade Agreements Concluded With Iran

*AU2209153590 Sofia BTA in English 2159 GMT 21 Sep 90*

[Text] Sofia, 21 Sep (BTA)—Within the framework of the seventh session of the Bulgaro-Iranian Joint Committee for Economic, Scientific and Technical Cooperation, today a protocol on trade, oil and finance was signed. Next year's trade is expected to come up to 500 million dollars. Next year Iran will deliver to Bulgaria one million tons of oil and Bulgaria will deliver to Iran machine tools, motor trucks, cigarettes, transformers, transmission lines, refrigerator compressors. It is envisaged to sign a protocol on the construction of two dams in Iran by Bulgaria.

A protocol of the fourth session of the Standing Commission on Transport within the framework of the Bulgaro-Iranian committee for economic, scientific and technical cooperation was also signed. An agreement was reached to increase the volume of transit carriage to Iran and to negotiate competitive prices.

An agreement on opening a merchant ship line between Iran and Bulgaria is being prepared.

It is expected to open an air line connecting Sofia and Tehran.

### Ruse 'Gas-Poisoned' by Romania's Giurgiu Plant

*AU2109193590 Sofia BTA in English 1913 GMT 21 Sep 90*

["Ruse Gassed Again"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, 21 Sep (BTA)—Ruse has been gas-poisoned again with the well-known organic substances. According to information received from its citizens and the competent authorities, the thick suffocating cloud came from the north-northeast and densely covered the central and riverside parts of the city. The gassing began at about 0100 hrs. at night, as a result of which many people coughed, got headaches and felt sick—something usual in such cases.

The source of the pollution is the production of Vulcacits [as received] in the chemical works in the Romanian town of Giurgiu.

### Silistra Doctors Protest Pollution From Calarasi

*AU2209153290 Sofia BTA in English 2109 GMT 21 Sep 90*

[Text] Sofia, 21 Sep (BTA)—The members of the Bulgarian Union of Physicians in the Danubian town of Silistra back up the protests against the transboundary air pollution, the source of which are the metallurgical works in Calarasi. In an address of the union it is pointed out that "the sulphur dioxide and hydrogen sulphide concentration measured exceeds the acceptable limits three times." The physicians qualify the pollution as an outrage against the cleanness of the air in Silistra which is "contrary to the generally adopted international standards, good-neighbourly relations and the basic principles in the Helsinki Act."

It is insisted that the municipal people's council should take most urgent action with the Romanian state authorities in Calarasi and should officially ask the Bulgarian Government to include the problem of the transboundary pollution of Silistra in the bilateral negotiations.

### Romanian Views on Danube Pollution Criticized

*AU2409100190 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 19 Sep 90 p 3*

[Text] Bucharest, 18 Sep (BTA correspondent Petyo Petkov)—After ten years of silence, the Romanian press has at last broken the taboo imposed by Nicolae Ceausescu, and in its own way has "discovered" the topic of the Ruse-Giurgiu ecological tragedy. Thanks to a number of reports and articles in various mass media, the thousands of Romanians who daily cross the Danube bridges at Ruse have their attention drawn to the smokestacks of the Ruse plants and factories. They pause in the hope of identifying the five unfortunate plants which are alleged to poison the air of Giurgiu.

A great ecological mystification has been concocted, and its authors can be satisfied with its success. Almost a year after Ceausescu's overthrow, our neighbors are convinced more than ever that the Giurgiu Chemical Combine, built at the suggestion of Ceausescu's wife, is ecologically pure, while the Bulgarians are capricious and technically illiterate people, who should erect a memorial to the ultracompetent Romanian chemists who pointed out to them the true reasons for the ecological tragedy. Regarding the chemical combine, the Romanian newspapers either say nothing at all or, at best, speak in undertones and an excuse-filled manner.

In fact, to date no document exists in which the Romanian side has agreed that the chlorine "cocktails" have come and continue to come from Giurgiu. It is not hard to guess that the failure to recognize this arises from fears that the combine will be forced to pay compensation to the thousands of victims who have suffered, not only on our side of the river, but also on the Romanian bank. Such cases are already known in other parts of the world.

However, certain more efficient Romanian journalists have not been satisfied merely with misrepresenting the truth about Ruse, but have started a crusade against the Kozloduy Nuclear Power Plant: "Fishing is banned in Bechet (a village opposite Kozloduy)! A secret document prohibits the villagers from selling lettuces, tomatoes,

melons, and so on to hospitals, creches, and kindergartens! The fish are radioactive, and fruit and vegetables contain radioactivity above the permitted levels! The Bulgarian nuclear power plants at Kozloduy and Belene (?!) have poisoned the Danube and our environment...."

These lines come from an article in the latest issue of the popular weekly VIATA CAPITALEI [The Capital's Life], carrying the signature of Dan Fruntelata, the popular publicist of the recent past. After authoritatively explaining to his readers that the Bulgarian insurgents against the Ottoman yoke were "terrorists who instilled terror along the Danube," he describes in the same terms the people who are now campaigning for the purity of the air over Ruse. In order that his readers should harbor no doubt about the author's good feelings toward our country, the article concludes with the words: "We have always, or almost always, gotten along well with our neighbors. Let us not act like great powers toward one another!"

### Lukanov 'Worried,' Wants To Better Romanian Ties

*AU2309155390 Sofia BTA in English 1520 GMT 23 Sep 90*

[Text] Sofia, 23 Sep (BTA)—Prime Minister Andrey Lukanov is worried by the polemics launched in the last days by the Romanian and the Bulgarian press, abundant in mutual attacks and accusations.

In an interview on the Bulgarian Radio today Mr. Lukanov stated that he would ask for an urgent meeting with his Romanian counterpart, Mr. Petre Roman.

"We should not allow such a deterioration of our relations, which would block the possibilities for finding a solution to the problems both countries have with the conservation of the environment and the struggle against transboundary smuggling," Mr. Lukanov stated.

In the last days representatives of the two countries' customs authorities have been exchanging attacks in Romanian and Bulgarian papers. The cause for the attacks is the large groups of smugglers who are creating serious difficulties at the checkpoint on the bridge spanning the Danube at Ruse. In the meantime the Chemical Works in the Romanian city of Giurgiu on the opposite bank of the Danube continue to dangerously contaminate the air blown by the wind in the direction of Ruse. Information for similar pollutions, the source of which is also a Romanian works, have come from another Bulgarian town situated on the Danube—Silistra. The joint commission of experts failed to reach an agreement as to the sources of the pollution which has been going on for almost ten years now. The meeting Premier Lukanov had with Romanian Prime Minister Petre Roman three months ago did not help improve the situation.

### Romanians Said Evading Customs, Smuggling Goods

*AU2209153490 Sofia BTA in English 2215 GMT 22 Sep 90*

["Black-Marketing Romanian Tourists"—BTA headline]

[Text] Ruse, 21 Sep (BTA)—The Romanian citizens keep causing incidents in the central railway station of Ruse. The Romanian tourists, or rather pedlars, made their latest "trick" tonight. One hundred and thirty-four Romanian citizens who violated the entrance regime were taken down from the international Pannonia express train (which was late as usual) and were returned to Romania. The sole purpose of their trip to Bulgaria seems to be striking bargains in the black market. Other passengers (according to the law-enforcement units they were about 30) jumped off the train before the customs examination, intending to smuggle their goods. After a prolonged chase in the darkness, nine of them were caught. Six Bulgarian gypsies who also preferred to avoid any possible troubles with the customs authorities were also detained.

Thus in the last 24 hours scarce goods amounting to more than 24,000 leva's worth got to the customs warehouse in Ruse. The goods were found in the ceilings of the wagons of the arriving and departing international trains; most of the smugglers are Romanian citizens. According to data released by the local customs authorities, the cases of smuggling cigarettes, alcohol and shoes to the Soviet Union have become more frequent of late.

The Romanian side is not fulfilling the agreement on the temporary restriction imposed on the Romanian citizens' trips to Bulgaria.

The danger of a cholera outbreak is growing, the BTA correspondent in Ruse writes. He adds that the work at the Danube bridge checkpoint has become very difficult. The Romanian border and customs authorities have reduced almost to naught the passing regime of cars which results in traffic jams, especially in the direction of Giurgiu. People and cars have got to wait for more than 24 hours and the line stretches all along the three-kilometre-long bridge spanning the Danube. Today the jam was especially great, because all of a sudden the Romanian border guards decided to quickly let the passengers cross the border and go to Bulgaria.

### Protest Note on Border Shooting Issued to Envoy

*AU2109202590 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 21 Sep 90*

[Text] We have received the following announcement from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs:

Today the Yugoslav ambassador, Milenko Stefanovic, was summoned to the Foreign Ministry in connection with the incident on the Bulgarian-Yugoslav border,

during which a Yugoslav border patrol shot two Bulgarian citizens, Damyan Petrov Panchev and Nacho Petrov Panchev, who were illegally crossing the border.

Yordan Velichkov, chief of the Consular Department, handed the ambassador a note expressing a strong protest against the actions of the Yugoslav border organs, which led to the death of the two Bulgarian citizens. In addition, the note strongly expressed the view that the incident could have been dealt without the use of firearms or with less serious consequences for the Bulgarian citizens, because the latter were unarmed and their actions did not require the Yugoslav border authorities to go beyond the limit of unavoidable self-defense.

The ambassador expressed regret concerning the incident, and gave an assurance that he would inform his government concerning the delivered note and his conversation at the ministry.

### Lukanov, Pirinski Receive FRG Economic Official

*AU2409075690 Sofia BTA in English 0717 GMT 24 Sep 90*

["Bulgaria, FRG: New Forms of Cooperation"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, 24 Sep (BTA)—Last night Prime Minister Andrey Lukanov received Mr. Klaus Beckmann, Bundestag state secretary of the Federal Ministry of the Economy of the FRG. He is taking part in the 13th session of the Joint Bulgaro-West German Committee for Economic, Industrial and Technical Cooperation.

It was pointed out at the meeting that with Bulgaria's opening to the world economy her relations with the FRG and unified Germany acquire a new importance. According to the Bulgarian premier the reunification of Germany creates certain problems, but they should be considered from the point of view of the new possibilities untapped for the promotion of the two countries' relations in the economy and all other fields.

Mr. Beckmann confirmed the readiness of the government of the FRG to constructively consider the measures that could be possibly taken for the working out of new approaches and forms for the preservation and the promotion of trade in the new conditions. The readiness of the FRG to support any multilateral initiative on the same lines was also expressed.

During the talks it became clear that Bulgaria's partners in the FRG are interested in the speeding up of the reforms in Bulgaria in the conditions of social and economic stability.

Mr. Georgi Pirinski, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, also attended the meeting.

### 'First Private Bank' Head Holds Talks in London

*AU2109130190 Sofia BTA in English 2354 GMT 20 Sep 90*

[Text] London, 20 Sep (BTA)—Mr. Ventsislav Yosifov, president of the First Private Bank, conferred here with representatives of the leading British merchant banks Barclays, National Westminster and Midland on the opportunities and terms of settlement between the First Private Bank and its British partners. Mr. Ventsislav Yosifov was also received at the Foreign Office, where he talked with experts on the possibility of Britain aiding through the Bulgarian bank private commodity production in Bulgaria and on matters concerning the future cooperation between private Bulgarian and British companies.

### Deputy Foreign Minister Explains Resignation

*AU1909133690*

[Editorial Report] Prague LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE in Czech on 12 September, page 3, under the headline "Will the Czechoslovak People's Party End Up Fully in the Government Opposition?", publishes a 1,800-word interview with Dr. Vera Bartoskova, deputy federal minister of foreign affairs, by Helena Bastlova, LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE correspondent, following the news that effective 15 September Bartoskova had resigned from her post.

Asked about the possibility that she had resigned under duress, which, according to the interviewer, might be a part of the campaign against the Czechoslovak People's Party [CSL] and the entire Christian and Democratic Union, Buresova declares that the decision was her own and taken freely. She acknowledges, however, that "during the election campaign, the CSS and its leading representatives really were the target of brutal attacks in Czechoslovak as well as in the foreign press." The purpose of these attacks was, according to Bartoskova, to discredit the party, and they also concerned her personally. She says that it is virtually impossible to defend oneself against such attacks and hence "During the past three months, I arrived at the conclusion that these attacks will be repeated whenever needed and I have no intention of continually fighting them off."

Bartoskova asserts that her decision was not prompted by M. Stepan's recent accusation that she collaborated with State Security (because a conversation she had had within was subsequently reported to state security). She agrees that the conversation Stepan mentioned took place, but disagrees with his claim that it was a private talk. She says she was not responsible for the fact that it was reported to State Security, but admits she spoke about the conversation with many people. Since similar campaigns are very easy to start and one should try to prevent them, Bartoskova says, "our deputies in the Federal Assembly and in the Czech National Council must, as one of the basic conditions for democracy, ensure consistent objectivity and nonpartisanship of the television, radio, and CTK."

### Havel Addresses Civic Forum Republican Assembly

*AU2109105890 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 17 Sep 90 p 2*

["(MS)"-signed report: "The Necessity of a Stronger Political Leadership"]

[Text] "Civic Forum evolved as an improvised revolutionary counterbalance to totalitarian power," said Vaclav Havel at Saturday's [15 September] Civic Forum republican assembly at which he unexpectedly appeared. He continued: "I personally thought that this forum would be a temporary organization which would not continue for too long because sooner or later it would begin to have problems with its identity. I thought that when a natural political spectrum—from right-wing parties to left-wing ones—was created, Civic Forum would disappear by a natural process and would merge into this spectrum. It seems that I was mistaken. This movement has to enter into the elections as a political force. It seems that it must exist for at least two more years and that it must enter into the local elections and the parliamentary elections which will be held in two years. Civic Forum has again found itself face to face with the issue of its identity: Whether it is a movement or a political party. It seems it will be something in between. However, it does not have a stronger political leadership. It is impossible that after a few months the government has finished its work on the scenario for reform and is beginning to succumb to uncertainty and to what Civic Forum is telling it. After all, this government is the forum; its proposals must have Civic Forum's support."

When V. Havel spoke about the local elections, he stressed that the principle of party allegiance should be suppressed and, on the contrary, the principle of personalities should be emphasized. He said that he does not see any reason why local Civic Forum coalitions with other parties—among people who have an unblemished record and who want to work—should not be formed in communities.

Leading personalities from our political life participated in the republican assembly in Prague—among others, Zdenek Jicinsky, deputy chairman of the Federal Assembly, Pavel Rychetsky, federal deputy premier, Jiri Dienstbier, federal deputy premier and foreign minister, Dagmar Buresova, chairwoman of the Czech National Council, and Petr Pithart, Czech premier. The Public Against Violence movement was represented at the assembly by Fedor Gal, the chairman of its coordinating center.

Petr Pithart informed the delegates about the fulfillment of Civic Forum's election program. He dealt with four problem areas—Czech-Slovak relations, the provincial system, economic reform, and Civic Forum's organization. He stated with satisfaction that an agreement has finally been reached between the economic ministers of the Federal Government and both republican governments. In his opinion, the shift of jurisdiction from the Federal Government to the republican governments will not threaten economic reform.

Other points on the agenda were a report on Civic Forum's recent work, which was delivered by Petr Kucera; Civic Forum's draft political line for the very near future; and the course of action in implementing the Federal Assembly Presidium's legal measure for expanding the range of managerial positions occupied by appointment. Opinions were expressed in a discussion on the final point that it is not enough to change one person; it is necessary to look into the past and to take kinship into consideration. However, these attempts to carry out purges were rejected.

In a secret and direct ballot, Martin Palous, Vojtech Sedlacek, Dasa Havlova, and Petr Kucera were elected Civic Forum representatives from a list of five candidates. The assembly also approved a Civic Forum Council composed of the four representatives and representatives from the regions. The Czech region has one representative and the Moravian region has two representatives in the council.

### New Government Legislative Council Meets 12 Sep

*AU2109082290 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 13 Sep 90 p 8*

[Unattributed CTK report: "The Federal Government's Legislative Council"]

[Text] The CSFR Government's new legislative council, chaired by Federal Deputy Premier Pavel Rychetsky, held a session in Prague yesterday. The legislative council's members are ministers from departments immediately associated with the law, representatives of the Supreme Courts, the Prosecutor General's Offices, and other institutions in the Federation, and representatives of the republican governments. It is a consultative, coordinating, and initiative organ which operates in the sector of legislative activity. It was conceived in the same way as the government's economic council. Several permanent working commissions were established at the first session: commissions for civil law, commercial and economic law, penal law, labor and social affairs law, and public law. Apart from this, temporary commissions will also be established for individual laws according to need. The first to be established are the commission for codifying commercial law and the commission for preparing a construction law. However, the main point on yesterday's agenda was a report on the legislative activity of the Federal Government during the second half of the year. The envisaged number of prepared laws embodied in the government's policy statement has been limited to one-third.

### Socialist Party Members Postpone Congress

*AU2109135690 Prague SVOBODNE SLOVO in Czech 15 Sep 90 p 1*

["(sch)"-signed report: "The Czechoslovak Socialist Party Congress Has Been Postponed"]

[Text] The Czechoslovak Socialist Party [CSS] Central Committee meeting began with a small conflict yesterday when current members of the Central Committee—representatives of the National Socialist Women, V. Jurakova and R. Krasna, who are also members of the preparatory committee of the newly founded National Socialist Party—were told to leave the hall. After the two left the CSS building, the meeting began in a businesslike spirit. Professor M. Adam, acting deputy chairman of the party, presented the facts which we published on Tuesday [11 September]. Due to the National Socialist Party's break from the CSS, the situation in the party has become a little confused. At the same time, it is necessary to concentrate on the preparations for local elections. That is why, among other reasons, the party congress—planned for the end of September—will have to be postponed. In a discussion, a majority of the members present agreed with the postponement of the congress and with the organization of regional congresses. From the resolution approved by the Central Committee it ensues that a nationwide meeting will be organized on 29 September. The resolution also contains other decisions which we will report later.

### Representatives of Left Parties Meet in Prague

*AU2409075890 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 17 Sep 90 p 2*

[Unattributed CTK report in the "Briefly" column]

[Text] The left-wing forces have made their first attempt at unification since the November events. An assembly of the representatives of various left-wing movements met on Saturday [15 September] in Prague's Lucerna on the initiative of the Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia Democratic Platform. Vasil Mohorita, first secretary of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia Central Committee, Zdenek Mlynar, political scientist, Egon Bondy, activist of the Left Initiative [Iniciativa], Professor Ivan Svitak, and representatives of the Civic Forum, the Social Democracy, the Revival, and the Czechoslovak Democratic Forum attended the assembly.

### Legislative Proposals Outlined at News Conference

*AU1909123590 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 14 Sep 90 p 1*

["(MS)"-signed report: "Agreement With 'Small-Scale' Restitution"]

[Text] Apart from the state of work on the preparation of the new CSFR Constitution, the Federal Government dealt with three legislative proposals—whose consideration had been requested by the chairman of the Federal Assembly—at its session yesterday. As Pavel Rychetsky, federal deputy premier, informed journalists at a news conference, two of these proposals were submitted by initiative groups of deputies.

The first proposal concerns Article 6 of the Constitution which deals with the National Front. According to this article, it still has the right, for example, to nominate judges (although this organization no longer exists). In the future the appropriate Ministries of Justice should have this right. The second proposal is the so-called small-scale restitution law. Its adoption will make it possible to return property, which was forfeited to the state on the basis of law No. 15/1959, to its rightful owners. As Pavel Rychetsky said, there has so far been no success in drafting a law on out of court rehabilitation, consequently, the proposed amendment will bring

about moral compensation and is one of the necessary conditions for privatization. The Federal Government welcomed this proposal and recommended that it be adopted. The third proposal—concerning orders and awards—was submitted by President Vaclav Havel. All the existing awards, and the financial remuneration associated with them, are to be abolished and the whole system simplified. In the future there should only be three orders—the Order of the White Lion, the Order of T. G. Masaryk, the highest civilian award, and the Order of M. R. Stefanik, the highest military award. There will be two decorations—one for valor and the other for bravery in action. The government also adopted a positive attitude toward this proposal, although it still has to be drafted.

Josef Vavrousek, the minister entrusted with supervising the Federal Environment Committee, briefed journalists on the results of an inspection carried out at the Jaslovske Bohunice Nuclear Power Plant. It is apparent from the investigation that even allowing for the parallel development of some shortcomings it is not necessary to shut down the V-1 nuclear power plant at Jaslovske Bohunice before the completion of a comprehensive evaluation of its condition, that is, before 31 December 1990. However, it is impossible to assume that the results of a more detailed analysis will permit its continued long-term operation. Therefore, it is necessary to immediately prepare alternatives for supplying the CSFR with electricity until one or two of the V-1 blocks are brought into operation. This should be within a period lasting from several months to two to three years.

Zbynek Fiala, the government's press spokesman, informed those present that the Federal Government is withdrawing its capital participation from the Economia joint stock company which publishes HOSPODARSKE NOVINY. He emphasized that this is not because it has changed its attitude toward this newspaper, but because its material involvement in the company does not create an impression of the newspaper's independence of the government in the eyes of the public.

## Havel Warns of 'Critical Threshold' in Economy

*PM2109103490 Paris LE FIGARO in French 19 Sep 90 p 3*

[Interview with President Vaclav Havel by Eric Laurent; place and date not given]

[Text] [Laurent] You recently referred in one of your speeches to the "atmosphere of anxiety, restlessness, and dissatisfaction" that apparently reigns in your country. What are its causes?

[Havel] There have been free elections, and we now have a democratic government and an entirely free press and parliament; but we have not yet succeeded in coming to terms with the burdensome legacy of the totalitarian system.

[Laurent] Why not?

[Havel] To properly understand the situation you have to go back to 1968. At that time the pro-reform Communists' attempts at partial reforms gave rise to the hope of being able to build a more democratic, fairer, and freer society. The stifling of the Prague Spring destroyed that impetus and transformed Czechoslovakia into an island of silence, injustice, and systematic demoralization. The regime that established itself in power at that time was one of the most conservative in the communist bloc. It took merciless revenge on all those who had tried to bring about a rebirth of society and it did enormous damage, the extent of which we are only now assessing.

[Laurent] Damage in which fields?

[Havel] These past 20 years, totally wasted, have had tragic consequences. An entire generation grew up during this period, while the totalitarian system completely stifled creativity, the spirit of enterprise, and originality. It is enough to wander the streets to see this: Instead of the thousands of stores and workshops that should exist, you still find only closed premises which are subject to speculation on the part of the huge state enterprises which manage them and which habitually misuse decrees and regulations that have not yet been annulled.

The powerful structures of the former regime still exist. They control numerous municipalities that have close ties with enterprises. Bureaucratic monsters still prevent the existence of a rational economic life. The companies in charge of foreign trade live as parasites on production. In fact the bureaucracy is still in place at all levels, and this extends as far as the central institutions and the federal ministries. The sky above the factories, agricultural complexes, and enterprises is covered by a mass of clouds composed of useless managements and inept bureaucrats. Behind all this there lie concealed the tentacles of totalitarian mafias that try to deal in goods that do not belong to them.

[Laurent] Do you identify the Communist Party as the foremost and largest of these mafias?

[Havel] It is chiefly former Communist Party members, but I would not make any generalizations. There are some entirely honest communists. In fact the huge purges carried out within the party following the normalization in 1968 resulted in the exclusion of sincere or convinced communists. And the cynics and profiteers then rushed in, unguided by the ardor of any kind of conviction.

[Laurent] Do these blocks and the serious problems that they cause not demonstrate the limitations of this "velvet revolution" of which you have taken the lead?

[Havel] This revolution has not failed. It is simply not finished. The essential part still remains to be done. We must take vigorous and immediate action against all those who are destroying us and causing despair and apathy. We did not fight so that these mafias could continue to devastate our country. We do not have the

same excuse as in 1968, when we had to proceed slowly and cautiously. Now nobody is threatening us, and if we allow ourselves to be overwhelmed again by these elements—which are growing at others' expense and deliberately slowing down the introduction of reforms—it will be entirely our own fault.

[Laurent] What methods do you intend to use?

[Havel] I have urged parliament to adopt bold decisions. It is necessary promptly to set in motion the privatization process, which will set creative energies free. Parliamentary procedures must be streamlined. The government must not be afraid of adopting more incisive decisions. The Labor Code must also be changed to permit the rapid replacement of members of the nomenklatura who are inept or who commit sabotage.

[Laurent] You have said that time is short. When would a critical threshold be reached if the reforms do not proceed far enough and fast enough?

[Havel] I believe that a critical threshold could be expected in the economy in the fall or at the end of the year, because the situation threatens to deteriorate. The government would then be in real danger if the move to reforms is not taken quickly. We have wasted 20 years of our life; we can no longer permit ourselves to lose a single day more.

## Reservations About Economic Reform Considered

*AU2109082890 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 14 Sep 90 p 3*

[Igor Cibula commentary: "A Courageous Leap Into 'Popular Capitalism'"]

[Text] The parliamentary debate on the government's scenario for economic reform will certainly not just be the usual round of comments and suggestions because the Federal Assembly has asked four independent institutions to prepare alternative plans for economic reform. The deputies have, then, a chance to debate and consider the government's proposal and to sift the so-called Klaus version through the sieve of doubts sown by national economic experts who support a different orientation from the one long presented to the public by government experts.

Among the disputed approaches contained in the official model for reform is the method of privatizing the economy, a method which, for example, Valtr Komarek considers to be no more than a courageous socioeconomic experiment with—to say the least—spurious results. According to a study carried out by the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences Forecasting Institute, the excessive dispersal of ownership by a form of "coupon privatization" is an administratively initiated leap into "popular capitalism" which has no parallel in the world. The proposed solutions apparently make it impossible for shareholders to control and influence the enterprises' activities, while citizens would be condemned to the role of passive recipients of dividends without any influence on their control. In this connection, the institute also deems it necessary to take into consideration the fact that only a small part of the population has an entrepreneurial aptitude at its disposal, which is also indicated by the relatively small proportion of individual shareholders in countries with developed market economies. The argument may be added to this that the acquisition of shares at an "undervalued price" weakens interest in ownership as well as the responsibility of the people who have acquired them.

"Komarekites" recommend orienting at the beginning toward so-called small-scale privatization and gaining the participation of foreign capital which should first of all be oriented toward supplementing the basic capital of domestic enterprises with funds, progressive technology, and an entrepreneurial culture. They also suggest establishing employees' share co-ownership and the gradual sale of property belonging to state enterprises. The philosophy contained in the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences Forecasting Institute's study proceeds from the necessity of maintaining an overall national economic equilibrium and widespread social support for the government from all sectors of the population.

The authors of the government's version of the scenario for economic reform also came up with such resolutions and, therefore, parliament will find itself in a complicated situation when deciding on whether to approve the scenario without fundamental reservations or with substantial corrections. The discussions on this topic in some parliamentary committees have already indicated that Klaus' version of reform will be solidly confronted with the alternatives put forward by his opponents on account of anxieties about social imbalance. It may also be expected that the Slovak deputies in particular will not accept the scenario's discrepancies without reservations as far as the institutional arrangements for reform are concerned, for example, the relationship between the federal budget and the republican budgets.

## REUTERS Reopens Permanent Prague Office

*LD2009221290 Prague CTK in English 2133 GMT 20 Sep 90*

[Text] Prague Sept 20 (CTK)—REUTERS News Agency today officially reopened its permanent office in Prague after ten years.

REUTERS had its office in Prague from 1968 to 1980 when the then Czechoslovak regime did not allow REUTERS correspondents to continue their work in Czechoslovakia and the agency had to report on Czechoslovakia from Vienna. From 1988, Vienna's branch of REUTERS had its permanent correspondent in Prague.

The opening of the permanent office was decided one year ago and by coincidence the agency sent its first report from its new Prague station on November 17,

1989, the day of the demonstration which touched off public protests that led to the fall of the communist regime.

On an average, REUTERS sends about 300 to 400 words daily on Czechoslovakia.

During a party tonight, REUTERS' former reporter, now Czechoslovak presidential adviser and press spokesman Michael Zantovsky, CTK News Agency Director General Petr Uhl, Prague journalists and other guests were received by Graham Williams, editor in chief of REUTERS' World News Service.

### Clarification of Army's Role in Nov 89 Sought

*AU1909101590 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 12 Sep 90 p 3*

[Igor Cibula commentary: "The Army—An Issue For the Deputies"]

[Text] The build-up of social pressure to extend to all levels the process of eliminating the personnel who worked in the leading structures under the former totalitarian regime has not avoided the Army. It even went so far that Defense Minister Army General Miroslav Vacek, who has been urged by his critics to resign, was obliged to react. Most explosive of all was the allegation by reserve Colonel Zdenek Cerovsky that he had seen an order according to which some military units were supposed to intervene, if needed, in Prague on 17 November. Even though the chief of the General Staff, Lieutenant General Anton Simak, denied this statement, President Vaclav Havel agreed to the establishment of a special commission, headed by the president's adviser Jiri Krizan, to investigate the Army's state of emergency shortly before 17 November.

In this context, the strongest pressure on Defense Minister Vacek to resign comes from the military organization called the Free Legion. Its members disclosed to the public that in November 1989 many commanders of tank units and mechanized infantry units sent pledges of allegiance to Milos Jakes, former Communist Party of Czechoslovakia Central Committee general secretary, and after his fall, to Karel Urbanek. According to the allegations made by the Free Legion, young and qualified officers are leaving the army, while the staffs are becoming "pensioners clubs." The recent congress of the Legion labelled as a farce the activity of the military screening commissions, during which the political instructors screened counterintelligence officers and vice versa. These and other accusations did not remain without a response, however. Five members of the Free Legion were summoned by the military prosecutor and its chairman, Lieutenant Colonel Jaroslav Fraus, has been charged with undermining the Army's morale.

In June General Vacek was questioned in his capacity as national defense minister in connection with the appointment of the new Federal Government, when there were objections from the Civic Forum regarding his former membership of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. President Havel has confidence in him and he has stressed this on many occasions. In this context, the attacks on the defense minister look like indirect arrows aimed at the Castle.

If we want the Army to be a reliable pillar of the democratic rights of our citizens, an explanation of its role in connection with the events of November 1989 and a critical evaluation of its current state are certainly necessary. It is necessary to give serious consideration to the doubts expressed by some political observers whether it would be wise to open a public discussion on this subject in the manner in which it has begun. It is suggested that the Federal Assembly, or its Defense and Security Committee, should be given this opportunity, as defined by the Constitution.

### Slow Pace of Military Restructuring Noted

*LD2009205590 Prague CTK in English 2030 GMT 20 Sep 90*

[Text] Prague Sept 20 (CTK)—The central committee of the Military Revival Association (SVO) stated at a session here today that effective cooperation between the defence minister and the army leadership with the SVO Executive Committee have not yet been reached.

The session asked the executive committee to send to Chief Commander and Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel, chairman of the State Defence Council, and to defence and security committees of the Federal Assembly (Czechoslovak parliament) a memorandum which will show the conclusions of the plenary session, and to discuss these conclusions with Czechoslovak Defense Minister, Army General Miroslav Vacek by the end of September.

The SVO said that the slow pace of the process of democratization and restructuring in the army leads to its destabilization, to the birth of pseudorevolutionary movements which enforce extreme views and require a definitive action against all who held significant posts before November 1989.

The Military Revival Association demands that all "normalizers" and the most active supporters of totalitarianism be dismissed or shifted to posts without decisive influence.

The association was established in November 1989 and registered on April 1, 1990. It associates 11,000 soldiers persecuted after 1968.

### Czech National Social Party Registered

*LD2009205190 Prague CTK in English 2007 GMT 20 Sep 90*

[Text] Prague Sept 20 (CTK)—The Czech Interior Ministry today registered the National Social Party (NSS) which, according to its press spokesman, considers itself

to be the only successor to the Czechoslovak National Socialist Party, whose origins go back to 1897.

This party, as the spokesman, Ladislav Batora, said was forcibly dismantled with the assistance of traitors from its own ranks after the Communists seized power in Czechoslovakia in 1948. Part of its membership resumed political activities in the Czechoslovak Socialist Party.

The National Social Party seceded from the Czechoslovak Socialist Party (CSS) at a congress on September 8 at which speakers accused the CSS Central Committee of inability to discontinue the practices used in the past four decades of cooperation with totalitarian regimes, including expulsion of national socialists from their party.

Ladislav Batora said that the National Social Party wants to take part in building a really plural system in Czechoslovakia, and calls on the other democratic parties to set up a broad coalition in elections.

### Procedures for Upcoming Local Elections Explained

*AU2409082290 Prague SVOBODNE SLOVO in Czech 15 Sep 90 pp 1, 3*

["vtz"-signed report: "I Vote, You Vote, We Vote"]

[Text] Prague—On 5 September 1990, the Law on the Elections to Local Authorities went into effect. According to the provisions of the law, on Saturday, 24 November, we will vote for our candidates to the communal and municipal boards of representatives, including the local authorities in Prague.

From the point of view of us, voters, it is important that, as distinct from the elections to parliament, it is possible in the local elections to stand for election outside the political parties and movements. Hence, the lists of candidates may comprise not only the political parties, movements, and coalitions, but also independent candidates or their associations. Another important piece of information disclosed to journalists by the Czech National Council deputies concerns the three variants for "checking off" the candidates voted for. The point is the fact that every citizen will have as many votes as there are members in the board of representatives. You can either check off just an electoral party (it does not have to be identical with a political party) or choose a combination of a party plus an arbitrary number of candidates of other parties, or check off names of individuals regardless on which list of candidates they appear.

Should parties not registered as political parties or independent citizens wish to stand for election, they must accompany their list of candidates by an original of a so-called petition, which contains personal data and signatures of authorized voters. The required number of signatures is proportional to the size of population of the electoral district in question.

The Czech National Council deputies also commented on the appeals and petitions which appeared recently attacking the above law and its authors as attempting to do things at the maximum speed so as to prevent "the adversary" from consolidating. They said that the date of local elections has been known for several months and the law itself, because of the principle of proportional representation, is democratic to the point of giving a better chance to the smaller parties and independent candidates.

As a result of the withdrawal of the Law on the Capital City from the agenda of the Czech National Council, the situation in Prague is more obfuscated. The Prague citizens will vote according to the Law on Communities for the municipal, and the district, or local board of representatives. Nevertheless, the Czech parliament wants to deal with the Law on the Capital City at the end of September or beginning of October at the latest.

And to conclude, for the orientation of those who intend to stand for election: Today, 15 September, at the latest, the National Committee Councils must decide on the number of members in the local authorities, and delimit the electoral districts. Within two days after that, the recorders of the electoral commissions must be appointed. On that day, i.e., 17 September, the information must be published. The district and local commissions must be organized 65 days before the elections at the latest (20 September) and, (according to the information from the Czech Local Committees), 30 September, is the last day for submission of the list of candidates by the individual electoral parties (according to the Deputy Dr. Palkosky it is 29 September).

### Subsidies Available for Organic Farming

*AU1909102390 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 12 Sep 90 p 1*

["(ru)"-signed report: A Chance for Private Farmers"]

[Text] There are quite favorable conditions for the development of organic farming in our republic, if only because of the fact that 20 percent of total agricultural land is in conservation areas, that is, in areas with a special agricultural regime. This is very close to the goals of organic farming, which aims at the production of healthy food while respecting the balance of the entire ecological system. This was said by engineer Richard J. Barak, Czech Republic deputy minister, at a news conference in Prague yesterday.

A total of six existing associations in the Czech lands alone indicates the interest in the production of biological food and in organic farming in Czechoslovakia. Organic farming, which is practised in foreign countries on small farms—from 10 to 100 hectares—represents a great hope, especially for private farmers. These hopes are even increased due to the existence of the subsidies

fund. Within the framework of this fund, the Ministry of Agriculture can release financing worth 25 million korunas. In order to apply ecological methods in the rearing of animals and cultivation of crops, farmers who farm organically can acquire, in the transitional preparatory period prior to the real production of biological food, subsidies worth up to 3,515 korunas per hectare. The subsidy must be claimed through the associations or unions of alternative farmers.

### Meciar Discusses Wage Reform Principles

*AU1909064190 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 13 Sep 90 p 2*

[Alena Melicharkova report: "The Principles For Wage Reform"]

[Text] Bratislava—The presence of Czech Premier Petr Pithart at yesterday's Slovak Government session was not exceptional just because it was the first time the premier of a sister government had participated in our discussions, stated Vladimir Meciar. He also said that following the success of the division of jurisdiction, completely new relations will come into force such as commercial, credit, and other relations. There will be joint enterprises, programs, and conflicts in this cooperation and, therefore, direct communication between both governments is important. This was also discussed at the session. The aim is to establish a real mechanism for exchanging information on discussions, the preparation of policy, and so on. He also announced that the first representative of the Czech Government is already working in the Slovak Government Office and that a representative of the Slovak Government will work in the Czech Lands. He expressed his support for a discussion on the material from the Federal Ministry of Finance pertaining to the draft principles for the law on the insurance system.

According to the Constitution, the insurance issue lies within the exclusive jurisdiction of the republics. One resolution perhaps casts doubts upon this. The federal organs' interpretation of this is different. Premier Meciar stressed that he will inform the federal organs that the Slovak Government does not agree with the proposed solutions and insists upon adopting the appropriate law at the Slovak National Council level. The federal principles for wage reform were also considered at yesterday's Slovak Government session. NARODNA OBRODA asked what were the main comments made about it.

V. Meciar replied: "Wage reform is an element for regulating the single market. There have to be certain principles in the Czech and Slovak Republics; however, these only concern state enterprises and not private organizations. There are many fundamental changes in the proposed materials. The existing system of wage tariffs is being altered in such a way that there will be seven tariff classes; there will be three categories for workers. The issue of selecting the classes and of assigning them is a matter of agreement involving the employer, the enterprise, and state representatives. This will be done on three levels. At the republican, branch, and enterprise level where an increase in wages will also be agreed. A basic wage at the tariff level will be recommended. A minimum wage will be guaranteed which should be in the region of 1,650 to 1,850 korunas. There should be 12 classes for technical economic employees with the proviso that they constitute up to 60 percent of the volume of wages and that 40 percent constitutes flexible wage components."

He also stated that in this instance the situation is already a little different. The basic aims in regulating prices will be the same at the central level. Its application to conditions in the enterprise will be a matter for each enterprise and there will be differences not only between the Czech and Slovak Republics, but also between two enterprises in one town. However, there will be a certain braking mechanism mainly to ensure that the enterprise does not exceed the permitted wage tariff level. An extraordinary levy will act as a sanction for exceeding the level in this instance.

### Meciar Responds to Criticism, Inaccuracies

*LD2009212390*

[Editorial Report] Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak at 1630 GMT on 20 September carries a six-minute item concerning a riposte by Slovak Premier Vladimir Meciar to a criticism of him in the latest issue of FORUM, the weekly publication of the Civic Forum.

Station editor (Bohuslav Goetzi) quotes an article in this issue, entitled "Why They Did Not Want the French President in Slovakia," signed with the acronym JAV; (Goetzi) claims the article reports events in Slovakia unobjectively, and points out some factual inaccuracies, such as describing Frantisek Miklosko as Slovak deputy premier when he is Slovak National Council chairman. The article quoted by (Goetzi), accuses Slovak Premier Vladimir Meciar of "wanting to act as the head of state," and goes on to say that "doubts are also raised by the attempt by the Slovak Government to legalize Slovak as the sole official language, which would markedly violate the human rights of the ethnic minorities"; it also says that "the demand by Premier Meciar for the federal army to safeguard the southern border in order to carry out suppression of national minorities is hypocritical in the overall context."

The radio presenter then says: "Naturally, as soon as we received news of the attack made by FORUM—incidentally this is the weekly publication of Civic Forum, and therefore a coalition movement including Public Against Violence—we tried to obtain an interview with Slovak Premier Vladimir Meciar. The opportunity presented itself in the press foyer in a recess in the government session. Our editor Magda Pospisilova took the opportunity to ask Premier Meciar to comment."

Meciar says in the interview: "This is not the first reaction on the part of the FORUM weekly. In an earlier

article about me, they accused me of providing patronage for communists and StB [former secret police] members, and now they are trying to criticize me allegedly for my attitude, but no one has asked me about my attitude, no one has inquired about it, and they have just published whatever they want in the article. Has journalistic ethics any meaning? If it does so in such a way, they know what purpose it is, and so do I. Everything that they have written there is untrue, fabricated, and a gross insult. However, I am not surprised at them, because I know some of the gentlemen who work there."

Pospisilova asks: "Are you not surprised at this—after all it is the weekly publication of what we might call your counterpart movement?"

Premier Meciar replies: "Civic Forum in its current form is not the same Civic Forum which led the revolution in November, partly because the leadership has changed, partly because there is a broad political spectrum there, and not all the views which they present today are views with which we can identify. That, however, is part of democracy. What is wrong however, is that they are being presented to the public incorrectly, and deliberately so. Look at the nonsense they have written. As far as I know, Mr. Miklosko is chairman of the Slovak National Council. To insult him and not to know that he is chairman of the Slovak National Council is a disgrace on the part of Civic Forum, if it appears in their publication. They go on to write about some standpoint or other which I allegedly sent to Prague, but on the day in question I was in fact in Prague, so how could I send a standpoint from Bratislava? As far as meeting Mr. Mitterrand is concerned, and the complications which arose in this connection, full responsibility for all the complications which arose lies with the protocol of the visit; it was not prepared in line with the proper protocol, it was done insensitively, and they completely forgot that every visit also has a political aspect. As for the last sentence, in which they say that Meciar needs troops so that he can suppress the Magyars in southern Slovakia, well, not everyone receives his full complement of marbles from heaven, and some people may well have a few of theirs missing."

The presenter concludes: "There you are, the reply of a man who gives as good as he gets. In this case it is no less than what certain Czech journalists deserve."

### Committee Prepares Social Union of Slovakia

*LD2109130490 Prague CTK in English 1207 GMT 21 Sep 90*

[Text] Bratislava Sept 21 (CTK)—Members of a committee preparing the foundation of the Social Union of Slovakia told newsmen today that the union will be opposed to glorifying privatization as a universal instrument of achieving socioeconomic prosperity.

The committee includes representatives of the Party of Democratic Socialism, the Slovak Social Democratic Party, the Czechoslovak Socialist Party in Slovakia, the Forum of Workers, the socialist-orientated platform of the Slovak Communist Party and nonparty people. The committee expects that after an extensive discussion of the program, the union would be officially registered in October and its program approved by union members by the end of the year.

Members of the committee said the purpose of this open movement is to unite left and democratic-orientated forces in efforts to achieve a socially just and democratic society, irrespective of their political affiliation, religion and nationality.

In line with the principles of its program, the union wants to protect the social security of citizens, take part in shaping legislation and a socially-orientated economic policy. It regards a radical economic reform as indispensable but believes its individual steps should be linked to adequate social measures. It supports effective forms of state and cooperation ownership but sees no reason for liquidating prospering industrial and agricultural enterprises. It is opposed to the sell-out of national wealth, and regards the blueprint for economic reform, envisaging mass unemployment, as inhuman and thus unacceptable. It is against a personnel policy taking into account political affiliation and loyalty to ruling power.

As regards the country's status, the Social Union of Slovakia favours a federation of two equal republics and is opposed to nationalistic and separatist trends.

### 80 Czechoslovaks Enter Jordan From Iraq

*LD2109174190 Prague CTK in English 1657 GMT 21 Sep 90*

[Text] Prague Sept 21 (CTK)—A total of 80 Czechoslovak citizens evacuated from Iraq crossed the Jordanian border today and continue their way to Amman from where a special Czechoslovak Airlines plane will take them to Bratislava and Prague tomorrow, the Czechoslovak Foreign Ministry has announced.

The group includes 78 employees of the Strojexport foreign trade corporation and one of the Investa and Technoexport corporations each.

All Czechoslovak citizens who are still in Iraq are in good condition and the Foreign Ministry, in cooperation with the Czechoslovak Foreign Trade Ministry and foreign trade organizations, takes all possible steps to bring them home, the ministry said.

### U.S. Company To Assist in Cleaning Environment

*AU1909084590 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 12 Sep p 2*

[Unattributed CTK report: "Mobile Incinerator"]

[Text] The Construction Geology State Enterprise has entered into an agreement with the U.S. company Hill International on cooperation in environmental protection in Czechoslovakia. Speaking about the agreement,

Miroslav Mares, director of the enterprise, said among other things: "One of the most serious problems in Czechoslovakia is the dearth of modern technology for the disposal of harmful substances. Therefore, we sought expertise abroad, where incinerators for these substances are used. Precisely Hill International Company is one of our potential partners. We favor the concept of small mobile incinerators, which could be installed temporarily at a location in which toxic waste must be eliminated and then moved somewhere else. Hence, it is a different concept from the one represented by the construction of a giant incinerator in Ostrava. I believe that such a single mobile incinerator would suffice for the whole Czech Republic. We have drafted an ecological program. The first stage includes the elimination of the dump at Neratovice and then the dump at Chabarovice near Usti nad Labem. It also includes work on the military territory in Milovice which the Soviet troops have left. The American company will be operating within the framework of the U.S. aid to Czechoslovakia.

### Soviet Withdrawal From Southwest Slovakia Begins

*LD2109144190 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1330 GMT 21 Sep 90*

[Text] The withdrawal from Komarno, Nove Zamky, and Sturovo of further Soviet Army troops, which were part of the Irkutsk-Pinsk Division deployed in the southwest Slovak region, began on schedule today. According to the Soviet side, they will manage to bring forward by almost a whole month the 24 December date of the planned deadline for Soviet troops withdrawal from Komarno.

### Pithart Receives Slovene Premier, Delegation

*LD1909044690 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 2200 GMT 18 Sep 90*

[Text] Slovene Republican Prime Minister Lojze Peterle, who is leading a Slovene delegation now in Prague, had talks with Czech Government Premier Pithart on economic cooperation. He also met representatives of Slovene firms in Prague. During their meeting Lojze Peterle briefed the businessmen on the possibility of expanding direct cooperation with the Czech Republic on the basis of the talks he had with Premier Pithart. Members of the Slovene delegation are due to leave Prague for Bratislava tomorrow.

### Renault To Lend Money to Avia for Modernization

*AU2109134290 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 15 Sep 90 p 1*

[Unattributed CTK report: "Half A Billion Francs for Avia"]

[Text] The French state firm Renault will lend one-half billion French francs to the state enterprise Avia for the introduction of an innovative series of light trucks with a three and one-half tonne capacity.

The signature on the agreement is expected next week. Final details were discussed during Friday's visit to the enterprise by Raymond Levy, Renault president.

The loan from the firm Renault will not only make the replacement of Avia's production lines possible, but will also boost production. Currently, Avia is producing 16,500 trucks yearly and, with a modernized production line, which bears the mark AN [expansion uknown], production will rise to 20,000 trucks. It is expected that production will begin in the second half of 1993.

## EC Commission Chairman Delors Continues Visit

### Havel Hands Message to Delors

*LD2009194790 Prague CTK in English 1904 GMT 20 Sep 90*

[Text] Prague Sept 20 (CTK)—Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel handed over here today a message to President of the Commission of the European Communities Jacques Delors, calling on the European Communities and the European parliament to intensify cooperation and provide assistance in environmental protection.

The alarming state of the environment could become a big barrier to Czechoslovakia's joining the European Communities the more so that the West Europesan "Twelve" have been paying increased attention to ecology and take their decisions in harmony with their programs in the sphere of environment, the message said.

The questions of the environment have become ever more an international political problem. Complicated problems of environmental protection cannot be tackled without the development of international ecological cooperation.

Intensive cooperation of the European Communities with Czechoslovakia and other countries of Central and East Europe in environmental protection would not only contribute to a "continental" solution to ecological problems but could also serve as a model of gradual adaptation of the countries of the former Eastern bloc to the conditions of the West European "Twelve", the message said.

### Exchanges Views With Havel

*LD2009205290 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 2000 GMT 20 Sep 90*

[Text] Vaclav Havel, president of the republic, today received Jacques Delors, chairman of the Commission of European Communities.

They exchanged views on the development of pan-European cooperation, in particular in connection with

the forthcoming CSCE summit and the formation of a new structure of Europe. They also assessed the relations between Czechoslovakia and the European Communities and the propsects of their further development, including the coming talks about agreement on affiliation of Czechsolovakia to the "Twelve."

Vaclav Havel acquainted Jacques Delors with the negative impact of the crisis in the Persian Gulf on our economy, which is made even worse by the reduction of the supplies of Soviet oil. Jacques Delors promised that the European Communities will assess their provision of suitable help to Czechoslovakia.

### Discusses Cooperation With Vales

*LD2009215790 Prague CTK in English 2119 GMT 20 Sep 90*

[Text] Prague Sept 20 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Deputy Premier Vaclav Vales today asked Jacques Delors that the European Community consider a financial contribution which would help boost mutually advantageous cooperation between the Soviet Union and other countries of Central and East Europe.

Representatives of the European Community spoke about the possibility of starting a stabilization fund to back up the transition of the Czechoslovak currency to convertibility and, if necessary, to overcome balance of payments deficits.

Details of Czechoslovakia's cooperation with the European Community and the group of 24 developed countries, for which the EC acts as a coordinator, will be the subject of future talks.

Vales, who returned from three-day talks in the Soviet Union yesterday, told members of the delegation about the cuts in Soviet oil supplies to Czechoslovakia which, combined with the tense situation in the Persian Gulf, complicates Czechoslovkaia's progress to economic reform.

Foreign Minster Jiri Dienstbier, who was present at the talks today, on Wednesday asked for an extrordinary session of the group of 24 states to deal with aid to Czechoslovakia whose economy faces problems as a result of the strict observance of the UN economic embargo against Iraq. The EC Commission coordinates aid by the 24 states to countries of Central and East Europe.

### Calfa States EC Membership Possible Next Year

*LD2109122790 Prague CTK in English 1031 GMT 21 Sep 90*

[Text] Prague Sept 21 (CTK)—An agreement on Czechoslovakia's membership of the European Communities could be signed as early as in the first half of next year, Czechoslovak Prime Minister Marian Calfa told a press conference in conclusion of a visit here by EC President Jacques Delors today.

Calfa described the talks with the president of the Commission of the European Communities as extremely useful, stressing that they mean the beginning of a new quality of relations between Czechoslovakia and the EC.

### Finance Minister on IMF, World Bank Membership

*LD2109084690 Prague CTK in English 0620 GMT 21 Sep 90*

[Text] Washington Sept 21 (CTK correspondent)—Czechoslovakia wants to be a good and reliable partner of the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank, Czechoslovak Finance Minister Vaclav Klaus told newsmen here Thursday [20 September].

At a press conference following Czechoslovakia's admission to the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank and associated organizations, attended also by President of the Czechoslovak State Bank Josef Tosovsky, Klaus said Czechoslovakia does not want to only take from the fund and hoped that after overcoming the present difficulties it would be able also to help the IMF in some way. "We expect the two institutions we have entered to provide a positive contribution to our radical reform," he said.

Both Klaus and Tosovsky said Czechoslovakia wanted to obtain loans from the IMF and the World Bank still before the Czechoslovak economy comes into difficulties. "We are starting from positions quite different than, for instance, Poland," Klaus said, and Tosovsky added that "other countries were in deep problems when they started taking loans. We want the loans immediately, before we get into problems. It will help us to use the money to bridge the transitional period."

### Government 'Line' on Pentagonal Issues Approved

*LD2009214190 Prague CTK in English 2111 GMT 20 Sep 90*

[Text] Prague Sept 20 (CTK)—The Czechoslovak Government approved at its session here today a line to be followed by the country in the Pentagonal Initiative (associating Italy, Austria, Hungary, Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia) and said that it will strive for developing and enriching the Helsinki process within the grouping.

The Pentagonal must help the states switching to the market economy realize economic reforms and must seek expansion of all-round international economic cooperation, the government noted.

Within the existing nine working groups, Czechoslovakia will focus mainly on transport, especially development and modernization of the railway and motorway networks in the north-south direction. Priorities also include the energy sphere where joint effort must be displayed to ensure transport of gas and oil to the pentagonal countries, especially in connection with declining supplies from the USSR. Czechoslovakia will

give priority to linking the Adria oil pipeline to the processing plant in Bratislava, the government said.

The government gave its consent to an agreement with the FRG and the European Community on setting up an international commission for the protection of the Elbe. The excessive pollution of water courses leaving the territory of Czechoslovkia is a very delicate aspect of Czechoslovakia's relations with its neighbours.

In connection with the October 30-31 session in Moscow of representatives of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA) committee, who will discuss proposals for an overall reform of CMEA countries' economic relations before the 46th session of the CMEA council, the government noted that it is in the interest of Czechoslovakia to maintain only such relations that are developed and built on the market basis. Therefore, multilateral cooperation within "East Europe" appears to be unrealizable.

The Czechoslovak side will continue to insist on its condition that it will determine its specific relation to the council including possible withdrawal of Czechoslovakia from it on the basis of concrete stands and attitudes of particular CMEA member states to cooperation with Czechoslovakia. The government decided to condition its membership of the grouping on CMEA membership of the Soviet Union.

### 11 Commissions on 'External' Relations, Poland

*LD2009180790 Prague CTK in English 1658 GMT 20 Sep 90*

[Text] Prague Sept 20 (CTK)—External economic relations and foreign policy are two spheres in which commissions formed by representatives of the Czechoslovak Government and the governments of the two national republics have reached agreement on the division of powers between the three.

Eleven such commissions have been set up after the three governments met at the beginning of August to discuss the division of powers between them. Each commission is to provide expert reasoning for the division of authority in a particular branch.

Views are still wide apart in the commission dealing with finance and banking, Federal Minister for Strategic Planning Pavel Hoffmann told journalists today. The two constituent republics, Czech and Slovak, demand a high degree of tax autonomy and there are disputes whether there is to be one bank of issue in Czechoslovakia or three, although both options provide for one currency.

No agreement has so far been reached in the commission on transport with arguments going on over the railway system and motorways, in the commission for social policy and labour market and in the question of institutions to ensure antimonopoly measures.

Fields in which agreement has been reached include communications, energy, fuel and metallurgy and economic strategy.

"Preliminary agreement does not mean that there are problems no more," Hoffmann said. He noted that agreement is most important on those issues the soluion of which is crucial for the success of economic reform.

Hoffmann also commented on problems involved in the opening of the Czechoslovak-Polish border and said it is not possible without harmonizing political and economic considerations. Neglecting the economic aspects would in his opinion increase political strains between the two neighbouring states, he said.

### Stasi Occupiers Force Chamber Session Suspension

*LD2009131190 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1233 GMT 20 Sep 90*

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—Occupiers of the former Stasi [State Security Service] headquarters in Berlin, who have been on a hunger strike for more than a week, today drew the People's Chamber's attention to their campaign once again. Deputy Parliamentary President Reinhard Hoeppner suspended the session when they went and stood before the speaker's rostrum with a banner and Reinhart Schult (New Forum) began to speak. [passage omitted]

### Hunger Strike To End 28 Sep

*LD2109153890 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1326 GMT 21 Sep 90*

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The occupiers of the former Stasi headquarters in East Berlin will continue their hunger strike until Friday of next week [28 September]. They told ADN that on that day a report would be made to the People's Chamber on the progress made in dissolving the Ministry for State Security. In their view, the "overall balance sheet would be more than just sad." The activists are also staging their protest in the hope that their demand for a ban on access to the archives of the 80 former Stasi members will be met after all.

The outcome of the two-and-a-half week occupation and ten-day hunger strike was summed up as "half-won and half-lost." They regard as a success the fact that the De Maiziere government was forced to seek a fresh solution with the FRG for the Stasi files. "The files will remain where they are, as we demanded." It was also stipulated that a special representative from the ex-GDR would be given far-reaching authority and would supervise future handling of the files. "But the fact that even these positive statements are only advisory by nature smacks of deception." In order to exercise some influence over this, some members of the group have stated their willingness to participate in drafting the utilization decree. "We regard as totally unsatisfactory the stipulation that the victims of Stasi terror will have very little possibility of access to their files," they announced. In their view, it is also "unconstitutional" for the Federal Office for the Protection of the Constitution to have access to the files from now on.

The occupiers expressed pleasure that with Rainer Boerner (PDS) [Party for Democratic Socialism] "at least one deputy, who also received encouragement by talking to us, found the strength to publicly admit his Stasi links." "All due credit to the civic courage of the 34-year-old," who read aloud this personal statement in the People's Chamber session yesterday evening. Last night singer Wolf Biermann, who was once deprived of his GDR citizenship, gave a "special concert" for the PDS deputy in the Stasi building.

The protestors were also encouraged by the solidarity shown by many people, who supported their demands with petitions and vigils. The occupiers want to establish a fund or foundation for the victims of Stalinism in the GDR. This would give those affected the possibility of "implementing in practical terms their abstract rights."

This coming Friday "we will have a whale of a time in Mielke's castle," it was announced. Music, songs, dancing, and endless eating are planned. "The informants from the all-German Office for the Protection of the Constitution are invited."

### Occupation To Continue After Strike

*LD2209085390 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0229 GMT 22 Sep 90*

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—The vigil at the former Stasi headquarters on Berlin's Ruschestrasse will be continued after the end of the hunger strike by the occupiers announced for next Friday [28 September]. This emerges from a statement conveyed to ADN late last night/early this morning which was passed by the general meeting of the vigil yesterday. Nonfulfillment of their demands was given as the reason for continuing the campaign. For example, they are demanding the handing over of personal files to those concerned, a ban on access for secret services to these files, and the employment of independent citizens' committees under the control of special parliamentary committees instead of Stasi employees who continue to work in the archives. "We want to give a warning that the struggle for civil rights continues to be a bitter necessity beyond 3 October" and "recall that civil rights are not achieved through the kindness of politicians but by pressure on the streets," the statement concludes. [passage omitted]

### Files To Remain 'Where They Are'

*LD2209154490 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1457 GMT 22 Sep 90*

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Right from the beginning there was no intention to continue "the hunger strike to the bitter end," Baerbel Bohley of the New Forum and People's Chamber deputy of the Greens, Christine Grabe, told journalists today. The occupiers of the former State Security center in East Berlin are to end their hunger strike but will remain, as announced, inside the building until Friday of next week [28 September]. Their aim is to prevent former Stasi members from gaining access to the archives.

In contrast, Ingrid Koeppe stressed to ADN that the hunger strike will be continued, as planned, until Friday of next week. There can be no question of breaking it off.

The occupiers considered it a success that the government is being forced to leave the files where they are now, and that a special representative of the "still-GDR," equipped with far-reaching powers, is to settle future dealings with the files.

The vigil in support of the occupiers is also to continue after 3 October, the day of the unification of the two

German states, outside the gate of Ruschestrasse. A statement read to journalists today says that all of the People's Chamber statements concerning the handing over of personal files and their safeguarding against the secret services were merely declarations of intent. The actions after 3 October are intended to focus attention on revealing the structures of Western secret services, such as the BND [Bundesnachrichtendienst—Federal Intelligence Service] and the Office for the Protection of the Constitution.

On Friday of next week the People's Chamber will hear a report on the progress of the disbandment of the former Ministry for State Security.

### Defense Minister Cleared of Stasi Involvement

*LD2109115890 Hamburg DPA in German 1139 GMT 21 Sep 90*

[Text] Berlin (DPA)—Rainer Eppelmann, minister of disarmament and defense, did not work for the former Stasi [State Security Service]. Accusations against Eppelmann for alleged Stasi involvement are unfounded, the committee for the investigation of People's Chamber deputies announced today. Eppelmann has been repeatedly named in recent days in connection with Stasi involvement.

### Modrow Accused of Disposing of Stasi Files

*LD2209134190 Hamburg DPA in German 1253 GMT 22 Sep 90*

[Excerpt] Berlin (DPA)—According to information from the East Berlin newspaper DER MORGEN, the transitional government under Prime Minister Hans Modrow (PDS) [Party for Democratic Socialism] disposed of Stasi files. The paper reported today that hundreds of documents and dossiers are being stored in secret archives of the SED [Socialist Unity Party of Germany] follow-up party to the PDS "in so far as they still exist." As a result, the past of former SED leaders and current People's Chamber deputies remains completely obscured. [passage omitted]

### Dresden Rally Demands Stasi Files Remain in GDR

*LD1709202490 Hamburg DPA in German 2005 GMT 17 Sep 90*

[Excerpt] Dresden (DPA)—About 1,000 people demonstrated in Dresden today in favor of keeping the [State Security Service] Stasi files in the country and against their being handed over to the FRG authorities. Banners read: "No chances for the new informers—our files stay here" and "Stasi and constitutional protection—down with all this filth."

The demonstrators expressed solidarity with the six GDR citizens who have been on hunger strike outside the former Stasi headquarters in Dresden since Wednesday of last week [12 September], calling for continuing control of the Stasi files by the GDR citizens' committee. [passage omitted]

### DIE WELT Claims Stasi Organized Arms Trade

*LD2309165290 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1604 GMT 23 Sep 90*

[Text] Bonn (ADN)—According to Monday's [24 September] edition of the Bonn daily DIE WELT, the former GDR State Security Service [Stasi] used to organize the arms trade for which the Socialist Unity Party of Germany leadership was responsible. According to a secret order signed by Lieutenant General Schwanitz, one of the deputies of Stasi leader Mielke, on 29 July 1987 the arms trade was handled by the Kavelstorf project near Rostock.

Kavelstorf had been the cover for the armament department and the chemical service of the former MfS (Ministry for State Security), the paper writes. Its task was to carry out "the transportation, handling, and storage processes involving arms and ammunitions, exclusively for the firm IMES in the commercial coordination sector of the Ministry of Foreign Trade." In order to make absolutely sure that the Stasi's involvement would not be revealed, the project was designated "IMES Import-Export GmbH, 1086 Berlin, Friedrichstrasse, Kavelstorf works department."

The countries which, via the Rostock seaport, received arms were, according to DIE WELT, Poland, the CSFR, Bulgaria, and Austria. Kavelstorf served as a "transit depot for products from third countries." At the same time, it was a transit depot for arms from Western countries for the commercial coordination sector. According to a Stasi order, the trading partners in Kavelstorf were offered the opportunity "to inspect the export articles." (The article was prereleased to ADN).

### DSU Expels Chemnitz Leader for Stasi Links

*LD1809134890 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1233 GMT 18 Sep 90*

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The chairman of the German Social Union [DSU], Chemnitz Area association, Helmut-Joachim Nestler, has today been "provisionally and with immediate effect" expelled from the party. Press spokesman Klaus Hubert Fugger told ADN that in reaching its decision, the National Executive of the DSU had available to it a protocol from the Chemnitz city parliament. It allowed no doubt that Nestler operated as an informal State Security Ministry employee from September 1975 to May 1985 under the code name "Christiansen."

The "unmasking" of Nestler is for the president of the Chemnitz city parliament, Reinhold Breede (Christian Democratic Union), a starting point for a check of all the deputies for possible Stasi involvement, the daily "DIE

UNION" reported today. Nestler, who was Breede's deputy, has rejected all the charges and is calling for a juridical investigation.

### Gysi To Expel 2 Deputies for Stasi Involvement

*LD2009160390 Hamburg DPA in German 1333 GMT 20 Sep 90*

[Text] Berlin (DPA)—Gregor Gysi, chairman of the PDS [Party of Democratic Socialism] group in the GDR People's Chamber, is to expel two members of the parliamentary group because of their activity for the former State Security Service [Stasi]. Gysi announced this in Berlin today on the sidelines of the People's Chamber meeting. He had received "some good news" from the chairman of the committee vetting the deputies, and "two pieces of news that were not so good." He is firmly resolved to draw the necessary consequences from this and to call on the deputies today to leave the parliamentary group.

### Citizens Protest Diestel's Purchase of Home

*LD2109190190 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1743 GMT 21 Sep 90*

[Excerpts] Zeuthen (ADN)—Approximately 1,000 angry citizens assembled outside the country home of the interior minister in Zeuthen, south of Berlin, with shouts of "Diestel out." They were protesting the sale of the house, and demanded Diestel's immediate departure from the Interior Ministry building and its being taken over by local authorities. [passage omitted]

The protest was also directed against other house sales to top state officials, such as State Secretary Krause or People's Chamber President Bergmann-Pohl, as well as Interior Ministry generals. The mayor said that there are 134 buildings in the district (kreis) which have not yet been handed over to the local authority.

A few days ago a wall erected around the politician's residence "for security reasons" was demolished following protests by citizens. The villa on Lake Zeuthen cost Diestel DM [Deutsche mark] 192,700, but is reportedy worth DM1.3 million.

### Interior Minister Meets With Protesting Prisoners

*LD2209144890 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1408 GMT 22 Sep 90*

[Text] Brandenburg (ADN)—The GDR's interior minister, Peter-Michael Diestel, today gave a briefing on current thoughts about a "possible modified amnesty" and the current examination of files, at Brandenburg prison. In talks with the prisoners protesting there, Diestel said that the examination of files is being carried out with regard to the legal adjustment to FRG laws.

Since yesterday 38 prisoners have been on hunger strike in solidarity with those occupying the roof. On Wednesday [19 September] four prisoners climbed on to the prison roof to reinforce their demands for better conditions, the examination of their files, and a graded amnesty. Yesterday they dropped the ultimatum that they would jump after 24 hours if their demands have not been fulfilled. The men on the roof, with whom Diestel spoke and who currently number seven, have almost without exception been sentenced for serious crimes, including murder, according to the police.

As the Interior Ministry announced, acting Minister of Justice Manfred Walther (CDU) [Christian Democratic Union], will give a briefing on the situation in the prisons in this evening's edition of "Aktuelle Kamera" [television news program].

### Protest for Amnesty Continues

*LD2209192690 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1827 GMT 22 Sep 90*

[Excerpts] Berlin (ADN)—Prisoners demanding amnesty in various GDR prisons continued thier protest today.

There were protests and demands by prisoners throughout the GDR. Prison managers everywhere are trying to find a peaceful solution.

Acting GDR Justice Minister Manfred Walther (Christian Democratic Union), speaking on television tonight, rejected a so-called "celebration amnesty." There were no more political prisoners; all those imprisoned today had committed criminal offenses. Individual cases might be examined for a reduction in sentence. He feels the legislator should not give in to blackmail. The amnesty act, since it affected all of Germany, should be administered by the Bundestag. [passage omitted]

Similar demands are made by 24 prisoners who have been on the roof of the Berlin-Rummelsburg Prison since 20 September. Amnesty or remission of a sentence through the People's Chamber should occur by 3 October. The roof occupiers are at the same time protesting the planned move to prisons in the western part of the city before their affairs in the eastern part have been examined.

Six prisoners with previous convictions barricaded themselves in the loft of Buetzow Prison, in the Schwerin area, on 21-22 September and joined the call for a general amnesty. [passage omitted]

There are also four prisoners occupying the roofs of Magdeburg Prison and the Halle prison for those being remanded.

Prisoners from Waldheim (Leipzig area) in a letter have called for the opportunity to start a new life which "illegally, through the kind of policy pursued, has been denied."

The 18 prisoners on hunger strike since 19 September intend to continue their campaign until concrete steps for an amnesty have been taken.

### Police Detain Right-Wing Youths at Gysi Meeting

*LD2209190490 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1758 GMT 22 Sep 90*

[Text] Dresden (ADN)—Right-wing extremist youths, some of them wearing masks and carrying sharp weapons, disturbed a Party for Democratic Socialism [PDS] family gathering on the Elbwiesen Dresden today.

Police said about 150 men formed a marching column in the city center this afternoon and proceeded to march to the PDS function at which Gregor Gysi was expected to appear. They told ADN they were right-wing extremists and republican sympathizers.

When the party chairman, answering questions from the 5,000 followers (organisers' figure), provided "left-wing information concerning issues on rights", they interrupted with shouts, such as "Gysi, Jewish pig"; threw stones, bottles, and firecrackers; and damaged an amplifier. Two people were injured with tear gas. Following a huge fistfight, police managed to turn the youths away, four of whom were temporarily detained.

Gregor Gysi expressed his confidence that the Left List/PDS alliance would be represented in the new Bundestag. For many people, also in the FRG, it represented an alternative since the opposition in the Bundestag had failed with the adoption of the unification treaty.

The PDS chairman expressed the hope that an atmosphere might be created in the country that would allow everyone to express his or her opinion. He denied that there was a so-called "Gysi cult". His party had so many well-known members that those who had to do without were upset.

### De Maiziere Questions German Troops in UN Force

*LD2109162590 Hamburg DPA in German 1511 GMT 21 Sep 90*

[Text] Bonn (DPA)—GDR Prime Minister Lothar de Maiziere has expressed clear reservations about the deployment of German soldiers within the framework of a UN mission. In an interview with the Bonn-based "GENERAL-ANZEIGER" (Saturday edition) [22 September], he points out that this requires an amendment to the Basic Law. He also stresses that there are still regions "where the presence of German troops still arouses sensitivities."

"In these cases the German Government cannot decide alone," he states. It is to a large degree dependent on the voices of its neighbors. In this context he recalls the "clear worsening in the atmosphere" in relations between people from Czechoslovakia and the GDR after the 1968 invasion by Warsaw Pact troops.

### Amount of Contribution to Gulf Action Criticized

*AU2109140990 East Berlin BERLINER ZEITUNG in German 18 Sep 90 p 1*

[Wolfgang Georgi commentary: "Kohl's Sacrifice for the Front"]

[Text] Bonn is very generous with its money—as long as it serves a good cause. U.S. Secretary of State Baker was positively surprised at FRG Chancellor Kohl's readiness to respond to the United States's unreasonable request for a larger contribution toward the costs of the Gulf conflict. The FRG is ready to pay 3.3 billion Deutsche mark [DM] in "immediate aid" to Washington and the countries affected by the international blockade against Iraq. According to U.S. newspapers, this is three times the amount Baker was going to ask for. Chancellor Kohl has asked the responsible ministries to provide the money "rapidly." The support includes DM1.6 billion in military aid in the form of armaments. The direct deployment of German troops in crisis areas is—still—banned under the Basic Law.

All political camps in this country agree that an aggressor such as Saddam Husayn must be put in his place. Nevertheless, there are doubts that have to be taken seriously concerning the size of the Armed Forces that Washington—which rejects the stationing of UN troops—has concentrated in the Gulf to enforce the embargo against Baghdad. Even so, it is now receiving massive material and financial support from Bonn.

Nobody expected the chancellor to send the envoy from overseas home empty-handed. Yet his overeagerness with which he has now committed himself in the Gulf conflict creates a strange feeling among those who, in view of the past, cannot watch the emergence of a new German superpower without any concern. It also creates a strange feeling among those in the GDR who are still waiting for the promised immediate help.

### Austrian Trade With GDR, FRG To Intensify

*AU2109180490 East Berlin DER MORGEN in German 19 Sep 90 p 6*

[Unattributed ADN report: "Increase in Exports"]

[Text] Berlin—Austria's economic relations with the five future eastern laender of Germany will intensify following the current period of development in what is still the GDR. This conviction was expressed by Trade Councilor Stephan Kuzmich of the Austrian Embassy in Berlin during talks with GDR journalists.

On the basis of the latest foreign trade results, Kuzmich explained the importance of the all-German market. Thus, during the first half of 1990 Austria's exports to the FRG amounted to 11.8 billion Deutsche mark. This corresponds to a 12.5-percent increase compared with the same period last year. The trade councilor also reported on 29 joint ventures between Austria and the GDR. This is the second largest figure for the GDR, apart from contracts with FRG companies.

### Antall Urges Warsaw Pact Dissolution

*LD2309191290 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1600 GMT 23 Sep 90*

[Recorded passages within quotation marks]

[Excerpts] Leading government and the largest opposition parties today both held election rallies. At the MDF's [Hungarian Democratic Forum] rally held in the [Budapest] Sports Hall, Prime Minister Jozsef Antall, the MDF's number one man, one week before the local authority elections, called the SZDSZ [Alliance of Free Democrats] a center-left party. He said that they were closer to the Socialist Party, and advised them to politicize in such a way, too. He again called his own party a center party. Further details from Peter Marvanyi:

[Marvany] "The party chairman again pledged that his organization is alongside the European people's parties, the Christian Democratic, conservative, liberal, and national currents. He warned against passions in the country creating some kind of tribal war, and declared that the parliament is not a place for people to take their intellectual passions, suppressed over many decades. He said certain conflicts should be kept to coffee houses and the baths."

At the same time as the MDF's rally, the government was attacked at a joint SZDSZ-FIDESZ [Federation of Young Democrats] rally, for, as they said, the loss of hope which can be seen in the country is caused by the Antall government not having a real plan of action. The accusation was leveled at the prime minister that his cabinet is proceeding on the Grosz and Miklos Nemeth path, towards anarchy. Janos Hollos reports:

[Hollos] "Continuing these thoughts, Gabor Demszky, the SZDSZ candidate for the post of Budapest mayor, said that the capital would not enter a country where there is a general loss of hope, because the basic conditions for its functioning are missing. A provocation disturbed the SZDSZ-FIDESZ rally. Outside the Jozsef Attila High School, young people started distributing well-known movie posters from westerns. On the posters was a photograph, underneath the figure $1,000,000; above it was written: wanted. The photo was of Jozsef Antall, premier. The speakers in the rally unanimously dissociated themselves from the posters and the people distributing them."

At his party's election rally, the prime minister replied to the attacks directed against him.

[Marvanyi] "Jozsef Antall rejected the attacks on the government in connection with the new positions. He referred to the government's role in the stabilization of the economy, in the avoidance of a financial catastrophe. He strongly attacked the, I quote, new prophets, or old prophets appearing in new guise, who spread pessimism and dejection."

One day before Jozsef Antall's visit to Paris, and following the talks with the British head of government in Budapest, he also spoke about the foreign political successes of his cabinet, demonstrating the lack of foundation of the attacks directed against him.

[Marvanyi] "Evaluating his government's foreign policy, he said that the country has never had such a widespread system of relations. The Warsaw Treaty Organization is ready to be wound up, but this cannot happen in the next few days; however, if the military organization does not cease by the end of next year, Hungary will definitely leave it. I trust, said the prime minister, that the Soviet Government also sees that there is no sense to this military organization in this form; that this does not work to their advantage either; that there is no need for it in the developing Europe, and, what is more, it could even be a hindrance."

[Passage omitted] One week before the local authority elections, the number one man in the MDF warned their party [as heard], and particularly the opposition parties, about using the country's number one man for campaign purposes. Peter Marvanyi quotes Jozsef Antall:

[Marvanyi] "It is a dangerous game, if any opposition party tries to use the president of the Republic for daily political purposes, involving him in the election struggles. No party should try to represent the president of the Republic as the sole credible personality, he said, alluding to the Hungarian Socialist Party, which forced a referendum on the country in connection with the question of the president of the Republic."

### Goncz Interviewed on Recent Visit to U.S.

*AU2409073590 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 20 Sep 90 p 1*

[Interview with President Arpad Goncz by "V.P."; place and date not given: "The Americans Are Ready To Invest in Hungary"]

[Text] Arpad Goncz gave a short, exclusive interview to NEPSZABADSAG upon his return from the United States.

[Question] Mr. President! What hopes, and possible concerns, did you experience among the Americans in connection with the developments in Hungary?

[Goncz] First of all, I feel some incredible optimism in the air which also fills one as a visitor. Compared with my previous visit, I felt that the desire to invest in Hungary has increased considerably. I met with respected businessmen who want to invest considerable amounts of money in Hungary. These people have moved far beyond the stage of explorations. They do not want immediate profits and they are aware of the fact that an investment is not reimbursed in eight to 10 years. They want to invest serious money in Hungarian industry, to be present in Eastern European markets, and for later advantages. It was a very good feeling for me to

experience this desire. At the same time, these businessmen find the pace of our privatization a little slow, and they find the legislation on free cooperation a little too slow.

[Question] Did you talk about the general concern over the situation in the area?

[Goncz] Concern was repeatedly voiced during my talks, but mostly about the domestic life of some Central and Eastern European countries, rather than about the situation in the area. The frequent appearance and strengthening of nationalism was one of the factors to which they have repeatedly drawn my attention. The U.S. Administration is worried and alarmed about such phenomena. I also met with the condemnation of anti-Semitic manifestations in Hungary.

### Lithuanian Parliamentarians Hold Talks in Budapest

*LD2109192390 Budapest MTI in English 1807 GMT 21 Sep 90*

[Text] Budapest, September 21 (MTI)—"Lithuania wishes to develop direct relations with the Central-East European countries, and would like to see the emergence of close co-operation between the three Baltic states, as well as with Hungary, Poland and Czechoslovakia," Emanuelis Zingerist, chairman of the Lithuanian parliament's Foreign Affairs Committee, and MP Mecis Lausinkus stated during their meeting with Imre Szokai, deputy secretary of state at the Hungarian Foreign Ministry, in Budapest on Friday.

The talks touched on international issues, and the development of direct links between Hungary and Lithuania.

According to the Lithuanian MPs their most important objective is to achieve the restoration of full independence. Imre Szokai declared Hungary's support for Lithuania in rejecting the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact which annuled its sovereignty and independence and the serious consequences it gave rise to.

Both sides attached great importance to Lithuanian President Vytautas Lansbergis' planned visit to Hungary. Szokai emphasized the prospects for mutually advantageous business links, and the Lithuanian MPs proposed opening information offices in the two capitals.

The sides agreed to examine further the possibilities for the implementation of the recent co-operation proposals.

### Antall To Meet Rocard on Visit to Paris

*LD2109173890 Budapest MTI in English 1642 GMT 21 Sep 90*

[Text] Budapest, September 21 (MTI)—Government spokesman Balazs Laszlo has announced that Prime Minister Jozsef Antall is leaving for a one-day, unofficial visit to Paris on Monday, September 24.

Antall is scheduled to address a gala dinner to be organized in his honour by a French management company for more than 300 senior representatives of French economic and financial life. Using the income derived from the dinner fees, the organizers plan to set up a foundation to promote democratic changes in Hungary.

During his visit, Jozsef Antall is to meet Prime Minister Michel Rocard, and party Chairmen Giscard d'Estaing of the Union Pour la Democratie Francaise (UDF) [Union for French Democracy] and Jacques Chirac of the Rassemblement Pour la Republique (RPR) [Rally for the Republic].

### Goncz Remarks on Relations With Soviet Union

*LD2309151290 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0630 GMT 23 Sep 90*

[Interview with President Arpad Goncz and Rudolf Tokes, "a professor from New York," by correspondent Laszlo Zelei; place and date not given—live or recorded]

[Text] [Zelei] This may be the most inconvenient question. We have been holding debates with the Soviet Union, we have been asking them to apologize in connection with 1956; disputes, also financial disputes, have been going on regarding the troop withdrawal. Are these disputes not distracting maneuvers, I say it in quotation marks—that is, are they not taking attention away from the Hungarian economy?

[Tokes] I do not think so. In my opinion these are properly rightful demands and expectations of the Soviet Union. The country's dignity is at stake. Here we speak about historical justice, and the Soviet Union has already waited with these things for too long. This has happened in the direction of Czechoslovakia somehow, partly in the direction of Poland, but the Soviet Union owes it to Hungary. This is one thing. The other is that, in the course of our relationship with the Soviet Union, it is worth keeping in mind certain parliamentary voices from the end of the 1930's connected with the war against the Soviet Union.

Regardless of whether we view the Soviet issue in one way or another, it should not be forgotten that that country within those circumstances was a partner of the United States in a world war against Hitlerism. Well, I think that, referring to previous thoughts, the bringing up of anti-Semitism on the one hand and that of the 1930's without any criticism on the other hand—perhaps because of party political reasons—is a life-endangering game with sharp-edged tools. The responsible political leadership must do something against it, otherwise serious problems might evolve.

[Zelei] Mr. Goncz?

[Goncz] We must not forget that whatever happenes—I do not want to calculate and forecast the processes taking place in the Soviet Union—the Soviet Union will remain our neighbor; there will not be a hole in its place. For

Hungary, as a consequence of her size and of her supplementary character, economic and political relations with the countries of this region are of topical importance. One should not forget about it for a single minute, otherwise we will get into a one-sided dependence, just as we used to be.

On the basis of this, the unjustified provocation and insulting of the Soviet Union, especially when there is not an anti-Soviet atmosphere in the country, is damaging, by all means. This is my firm conviction. Let me say in connection with 1956 that—as one of those from 1956 can quietly say—on the one hand we have to accept—and the Soviet Union will obviously acknowledge this—that what happened was a tragic, political mistake which, for a long time, brought the relations of the two countries—moreover, the relations between the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe—into a state from which it was difficult to get out.

Today we have emerged from it. Today practically similar processes are taking place in Hungary and the Soviet Union the size and pace of which are naturally different, but the direction of which is the same. The reason the Soviet Union is hesitating to acknowledge the mistake in 1956 is because she lost soldiers there. As we know, since World War II the pride of the Soviet Union, absolutely rightly, has been her Army. I have to say, and I think it will be by all means worthy to establish, that those soldiers who fought in the Soviet Army in 1956 were fighting at command; they fought honestly, they lost their lives—regardless whether that decision was right or wrong—and our task is to consider them the innocent victims of 1956 just like those who fell in the street.

If the Soviet Union receives the guarantee from the Hungarian nation that we do not question her military honor, that we do not regard her soldiers, who received the same treatment as the rebels in Hungarian hospitals, as our enemies—as we did not regard the soldiers as enemies even then—then I think she will make up her mind much easier to acknowledge a political mistake which was also harmful for herself.

## Economic Relations Minister on Oil Crisis

*AU2409065390 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 17 Sep 90 pp 1, 4*

[Interview with International Economic Relations Minister Bela Kadar by Zsuzsa Gal; place and date not given: "We Have To Survive the Transition—Bela Kadar Suggests U.S.-Soviet Petroleum Industry Cooperation"]

[Excerpt] A report from our Washington correspondent on 14 September said that some U.S. Government circles estimated that $10-11 billion would have to be given this year, and next year, to the countries hit by the Iraqi crisis—as aid, or in the form of a loan—to compensate for the increase in oil prices. With regard to the World Bank and the IMF conferences to be held next week, where this issue will inevitably be raised, we asked Bela Kadar about the effects that the oil crisis would have on the economic and financial situation of the countries of Eastern and Central Europe.

[Gal] The international financial organizations will hold a general meeting on 25 September; in what new light will they look at the problems of our region?

[Kadar] As we have already told our Western partners, the Iraqi crisis could have a serious detrimental effect on the economic situation of Central European countries, and it may burden and slow down our restructuring. The conversion to dollar accounts will increase the Soviet Union's hard currency revenue by $10-15 billion, and the increase in crude oil prices makes a further $12-20 billion increase in hard currency revenues possible. This is a rather favorable development for the Soviet economy, and the main objective of Western efforts is precisely to help the Soviet economy. International resources which are being mobilized in order to ease the economic effects of the Iraqi crisis could also be used in a different way: They could contribute to easing the problems in Central Europe by financing exports to the Soviet Union, which would help relieve the serious shortage of goods in that country.

[Gal] What do you think about the suggestion, made in Washington, that the increase in oil prices will mean a $10-11 billion extra expenditure?

[Kadar] That is an extremely modest estimate. The size of the price increase cannot be calculated yet, but I do not believe that prices will remain high. The world supply of crude oil has not diminished to such an extent that Venezuela, Saudi Arabia, and other Arab countries have become incapable of compensating; they should have no major difficulties. It is more a question of a vast coalition of forces in the world economy, which resents the erosion of crude oil prices in recent years, and which tries to make use of market pressures. It may be, therefore, that the extra costs incurred by importers will be three times as much as the $10-11 billion mentioned by Washington. The amount of the additional costs also depends on where the Central European countries will purchase their crude oil. If the change in Soviet deliveries forces them to buy larger quantities from more remote Arab countries, then the increased transportation costs will contribute to their loss, and in the case of some types of crude oil, there may even be extra costs in processing.

[Gal] What do you think our chances are of continuing to import the necessary amount of crude oil from the Soviet Union?

[Kadar] Soviet production has dropped by a total of 40 million tonnes—that is, six percent—which is not such a catastrophe in itself. It has to be noted, however, that the major oil extraction sites are moving to the other side of the Urals, and extraction under such particularly harsh geographic and meteorological conditions requires more energy then in the region of Baku, for example. Soviet-U.S. cooperation in the petroleum industry could be of

great importance in the tapping of Siberian oil fields, because the experience of working under weather conditions similar to those in Alaska could be put to use. [passage omitted]

### Oil Supply, Oil Industry Reorganization Analyzed

*AU2409102890 Budapest MAGYAR HRILAP in Hungarian 19 Sep 90 p 9*

[Agnes Marvanyi article: "Oil Industry Expects Capital Influx—Can We Expect Another Oil Price Increase?]

[Excerpts] When publishing the list of enterprises involved in the first privatization program of the State Audit Office, the executive director of this office said that there would be no privatization in the energy sector; however, this is not so obvious for the energy sector itself. Industry and Trade Minister Peter Akos Bod's statement that we should also follow world prices if the fuel prices remain high seems to contradict our government's promise that there will be no more centrally ordered fuel price increases this year. This article deals with the factors that really determine the domestic fuel prices and the connection with the privatization process.

One of the major members of the Hungarian energy sector, the National Oil and Gas Industry Trust [OKGT], has been trying to reorganize for years. The starting point of their reorganization concept is that the current form of direct state control is no longer suitable for a flexible adjustment to market conditions. Among the planned reorganization forms, a highly integrated national oil limited company seems to have the best prospects. [passage omitted]

Obviously, the Hungarian Government is facing a tough decision when it has to decide on the areas of oil industry reorganization and privatization that need parliamentary decision, and on those for which a government position is sufficient. Should the Trade and Industry Ministry—the ministry in charge of the energy sector—propose the involvement of domestic and foreign private capital in this sector or not? If yes, to what extent? Should state property still have a majority in every area? Before deciding on these important long-term issues, however, the government will have to solve much more urgent and short-term problems in the fuel industry. The solution adopted by the government will probably give us an insight in the government's concepts on privatization.

The changes in the Soviet supply of crude, a supply that fell behind the expectations of the first quarter of this year, force us slowly to look for regular supplies from capitalist sources. The world price of crude is rising steadily because of the Gulf crisis. [passage omitted]

During the domestic fuel price increases in the summer this year, the pricing and taxation system remained unchanged. Both the OKGT and the state budget get their share of the surplus income deriving from fuel sales just as before. Only a change in the budget payment system could reduce the expected losses of the fuel industry without another considerable increase in fuel prices at the detriment of the consumers. [passage omitted]

### National Assembly Adopts New Parliamentary Schedule

*LD2109154390 Budapest MTI in English 1413 GMT 21 Sep 90*

[Text] Budapest, September 21 (MTI)—From October 15, parliament will hold its plenary sessions using a new timetable.

In its latest session, the house committee agreed to allow more time for genuine work by the parliamentary committees. It ruled that the Monday plenary sessions should be shorter, starting at 3 p.m. and lasting until 7 o'clock. The Tuesday session will invariably start at 10 a.m. and end at 6 p.m., speaker Gyorgy Szabad told a news conference on Friday.

The new timetable will allocate an interpolation [interpellation] slot from 2 to 4 p.m. on Tuesday. Interpolations won't be allowed to last more than three minutes, while the minister or state secretary will be granted just over five minutes for a reply. The interpolating MP will be given a two-minute time limit for his or her reply. These new regulations enable parliament to discuss 12 interpolations each Tuesday.

In another major change, parliament may discuss major political issues once a month on Tuesday, during interpolation time. Two weeks before that date, the house committee must present the government with its recommendation for a discussion topic. The government is then given a week to declare whether it accepts the topic or not. The government must accordingly determine its policy on the topic, which can then be given one or two rounds of discussion by the other parties. All parties will have a chance to make two statements in the debate, and the government a closing statement.

Parliament will hold its next plenary session on October 15-16. (The autumn recess was ordered because of the local elections on September 30.)

A parliamentary official announced that the National Assembly would hold a festive session on October 23, the 34th anniversary of the Hungarian revolution of 1956.

## Preparations Made for Upcoming Local Elections

### Election Committee Details Local Candidacies

*LD2009121290 Budapest MTI in English 1037 GMT 20 Sep 90*

[Text] Budapest, September 20 (MTI)—According to information from the national election committee, there are 8,559 candidates for mayor, 48,939 list presented candidates, and 12,841 individual constituency candidates running for local government posts on September

30. The proportion of independent candidates standing for mayor is 76.35 percent, of list presented candidates 63.54 percent, of individual constituency candidates 22 percent.

In total, 42 parties, 647 socio-political organizations, 12 minority groups, and 447 coalitions are entering candidates.

On a national level, the order of parties and socio-political organizations ranked according to the number of candidates entered for the office of mayor and individual constituency candidatures (fractional numbers being derived from the values worked out for individual organizations as a reuslt of jointly entered candidates) are as follows:

- Hungarian Democratic Forum—1722.98
- Independent Smallholder's Party—1700.48
- Alliance of Free Democrats—1544.95
- Hungarian Socialist Party—998.75
- Federation of Young Democrats—822.55
- Social Democratic Party of Hungary—353.98
- Entrepreneurs' Party—285.67
- Agrarian Federation—226.20

The Independent Smallholders' Party was able to put forward the most candidates for the office of mayor on its own (576), followed by the Democratic Forum (340), and the Alliance of Free Democrats (273).

The largest number of candidates running in the individual constituencies come from the Hungarian Socialist Party (1,180), followed by the Democratic Forum (1,115), and the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party (966) respectively.

The Independent Smallholders' Party entered the most joint candidates running for mayor (226), followed by the Democratic Forum (177) and the Alliance of Free Democrats (112).

The Alliance of Free Democrats has 670, the Federation of Young Democrats 607, the Independent Smallholders' Party 457 joint candidates in the individual constituencies.

In settlements with more than 10,000 residents, the Hungarian Socialist Party has put up 151, the Alliance of Free Democrats 131, the Democratis Forum and the Independent Smallholders' Party 128 lists, respectively.

There are no candidates for mayor in 11 communities.

### Smallholders' Leader Favors Chances

*LD2209220590 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2000 GMT 22 Sep 90*

[Excerpts] [Announcer] According to the signs, the second party of the government coalition is not really satisfied with the first one. Eva Cseh reports on the Smallholders' rally held in Oroshaza:

[Cseh] The government coalition stands or falls with the Independent Smallholders' Party [FKgP], which, however, does not mean that the Smallholders are satisfied with the government that makes no headway. The calm is too calm, thus we have to speed up, Dr. Jozsef Torgyan told some 600 people showing an interest in the afternoon at the election rally of the FKgP in Oroshaza. The speaker pointed out that if FKgP take over the leading role in the coalition, and their chances in the elections are good, then the country's affairs will be on the right track. Because the government has not yet presented the land bill, a tense atmosphere has evolved within the peasantry owing to the uncertainty. [passage omitted]

In Oroshaza Jozsef Torgyan wittily condemned the FIDESZ [Federation of Young Democrats] and the SZDSZ [Alliance of Free Democrats], drawing parallels between them and the post office robber Stalin. [passage omitted]

### SZDSZ Accuses Democratic Forum of Slander

*LD2309235790 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2200 GMT 23 Sep 90*

[Text] The Alliance of Free Democrats [SZDSZ] has stated that the Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF] is once again distributing leaflets which contain false allegations about the leaders of the SZDSZ. According to executive official Ivan Petoe, the crude, boorish formulations are similar to the campaign stunt which the MDF paper carried out against the SZDSZ before the spring parliamentary elections. The SZDSZ is turning to the instruments of openness in the affair.

### MDF Hosts Conservative Parties' Conference

*LD2209213290 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1500 GMT 22 Sep 90*

[Excerpts] [Announcer] The next venue is Goedoelloe. In the organization of the Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF], conservative parties are holding a conference there on the future of the right wing in Eastern and Central Europe, Peter Marvanyi reports.

[Marvanyi] The first subjects in the morning were the death of communism and the problems of transition. In connection with all this, Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky, who was present, said that the really great problem in Hungary was the economic transition, for political transition would practically end if a week later the communists, after getting out of parliament, got out of the leadership of settlements, too. The foreign minister also expounded on the moral harms of communism. [passage omitted]

Marek Makraszek, Polish teacher from Oxford University, attacked left-wing liberals rather than communists, although I felt that, in fact, he did not see any real difference between the two of them. By the way, he classified the Michnik group from Poland and the SZDSZ [Alliance of Free Democrats] from Hungary in

this category. According to him, these forces does not want to reestablish the traditional communities of family and religion.

The title of the next topic was nationalism and national minorities. A German participant, (Hermut Koschik), analyzed the European Parliament's minority charter that is being prepared, and Rudolf Szauter, a Hungarian MP, pointed out that the Budapest legislation should frame its minority or nationality law on the basis of this European charter, after that has been adopted.

### Conservatives Urge Revival, End Conference

*LD2309210390 Budapest MTI in English 1908 GMT 23 Sep 90*

[Text] Budapest, September 23 (MTI)—The conference on the future of the Central and East European conservative parties ended in Godollo on Sunday with the adoption of documents.

The discussion of representatives from right-wing parties operating in West European and former socialist countries covered the problems of transition from communism, the question of nationalism and the national minorities, the difficulties of setting up a market economy, and the protection of Christian values.

The nearly 100 participants agreed that the West should assist the peoples of Central and Eastern Europe in every possible way in establishing a market economy, parliamentary democracy and a law-governed state.

At the same time, it was also important for these countries to lay down the constitutional rights and provide conditions for the fair operation of industry and trade. It was stressed that democratic institutions and a stable political background were indispensable to successful transition.

With regard to the issue of nationalism and national minorities, a declaration was adopted stating that at present the ethnic and national minorities cannot avail themselves of their political and cultural rights in several European countries. (The Hungarian minority of Transylvania was mentioned as an example.)

For this reason, participants in the conference called on the Euorpean governments to encourage the national and ethnic minorities to exercise their rights. They also drew attention to the fact that nationalism is an evil force which caused two world wars in this century. Everybody should abstain from inciting national conflicts for political advantages or territorial claims, they warned.

As to the single Europe, the document took a stand for the emergence of a Europe with integrated economy and defence force, stressing that this europe is thought to be a loose, free federation of democratic countries.

Participants also stressed the need to strengthen conservatism in practice and bring back traditional Christian values, such as family, religion and love, into everyday life.

### Szeged University Students Disrupt Antall Speech

*LD2209175290 Budapest MTI in English 1718 GMT 22 Sep 90*

[Text] Budapest, September 22 (MTI)—A group of students from Szeged University, carrying placards illustrating their disastrous financial situation, attempted to prevent Prime Minister Jozsef Antall from speaking at the local rally of the Hungarian Democratic Forum by prolonged applause. Antall stated amid the cacophony that it was not a daring venture to protest against a democratically-elected government. Should they have done this a few years ago, they would have been driven away through the back-door, he said.

Later on, the prime minister's speech was frequently interrupted by clapping, hissing and shouts expressing disagreement.

Analysing the shift in system, Antall pointed out, "We have to undertake a task, for which we have no historic example and experience. What we have to do is to turn a Stalinist, and later post-Stalinist, communist dictatorship, an artificially created phalanstery, into a modern market economy and liberal state governed by law."

According to the prime minister, the most important objective is to achieve the restoration of stability. Failing this, he said, a catastrophe would set in.

The university students interrupted the speech more than once, while some of the older participants were trying to express their disapproval of the youngsters' behaviour.

### Antall Addresses Disruptive Audience

*LD2209222290 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2000 GMT 22 Sep 90*

[Excerpts] [Announcer] Prime Minister Jozsef Antall called on the nation and his audience at Szeged University for calm, patience, and solidarity. Zsuzsa Ladanyi reports from Szeged.

[Ladanyi] [passage omitted] In answer to the question as to whether the Smallholders' Party would remain a permanent factor in the coalition, Antall replied: It is needed, just like every party of the coalition. He hopes that the best people from its best tendencies will come to the forefront. In answer to another question, as to why the budget reduction did not affect the military and the police as well, the prime minister said that the Army's budget has been continually reduced. It already represents a risk that it was not increased. In connection with the police, he remarked that it is not possible at one and the same time to demand the reinforcement of public

security and the reduction in the budget of the police. In the police-population ratio, the country is already among the last in the world.

### Antall, Horvath, Fur Address Election Rally

*LD2309222790 Budapest MTI in English 1937 GMT 23 Sep 90*

[Text] Budapest, September 23 (MTI)—Analysing the recent home policy events at the national election rally of the Hungarian Democratic Forum (HDF) [MDF] in Budapest on Sunday, HDF President and Prime Minister Jozsef Antall denied the news that "he was silenced" in Szeged on September 22. There has been no such example so far, he said.

The prime minister rejected critical remarks addressed to the government, and detailed the government's results in the fields of domestic and foreign politics.

Speaking about the Warsaw Treaty, he confirmed Hungary's intention to withdraw from the organization by the end of 1991, and expressed the hope that the Soviet leadership is aware that nobody benefits from the Pact in its present form. Afterwards, the rally was addressed by Balazs Horvath, minister of the interior, and Lajos Fur, minister of defence, both emphasizing the importance of the local elections.

Lajos Fur also pointed out, "We have to heal wounds so as not to strike new wounds, and administer justice so as not to create further injustices. No personal revenge is permissible."

### Goncz Discusses 1956 Events at Committee Meeting

*LD2209211790 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1600 GMT 22 Sep 90*

[Summary] A meeting of the Historical Justice Committee, attended by Arpad Goncz, has discussed the 1956 events.

"The president of the Republic said in his speech that the demands for compensation are reinforced by the fact that those concerned are getting older and, what is more, many of those who are owed compensation for the injuries they suffered are in fact dying. According to Arpad Goncz, at the same time the negotiating partners can justly claim that the grandchildren cannot be obliged to pay compensation to the grandfathers. For this reason, in his view, what is needed is to give 1956 back to the whole nation, and not to ponder who is owed a bigger share of it. According to the president of the Republic, the task that falls to the Historical Justice Committee is not to safeguard the memory of 1956 but to keep it for the people."

### Antall Attends, Addresses Wreath-Laying Ceremony

*LD2109222390 Budapest MTI in English 2023 GMT 21 Sep 90*

[Text] Budapest, September 21 (MTI)—To mark the 199th anniversary of the birth of Count Istvan Szechenyi (1791-1860), the Szechenyi Society organized a wreath laying ceremony at the Szechenyi statue in front of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences in Budapest, on Friday.

Addressing the event, Prime Minister Jozsef Antall said the life of the greatest Hungarian carries the message for the present age that Hungary can be a country symbolising modernization and rebirth. When remembering the figure of Istvan Szechenyi, we should not forget his contemporaries, from Kossuth to Deak, who laid the foundations of modern-day Hungary.... In general, we must learn to view as one, those who were responsible for national revival and the creation of a constitutional state based on free principles and the protection of values. The members of this great generation, although quarelling with each other, served the interests of a free and independent Hungary. Their example warns us that in fundamental quesions and duties today's rival political forces should join forces.

Afterwards, wreaths were laid at the statue by Jozsef Antall, on behalf of the Government of the Republic of Hungary, by President Domokos Kosary and General Secretary Istvan Lang, on behalf of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, and by representatives of the various parliamentary parties.

### Goncz Discusses Moral Values With Cardinal

*LD2109224390 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2000 GMT 21 Sep 90*

[Text] President Arpad Goncz has met with Cardinal Primate Laszlo Paskai at the Archbishop of Esztergom's residence. They both deemed it regrettable that there has been no moderation of the internal tensions which arise, or persist, partly due to the decline or absence of moral values. They were agreed that the lack of tolerance also causes a problem; people are finding it harder and harder to tolerate one another and to recognize values in others.

At the impromptu mass rally in Esztergom which followed the meeting, Arpad Goncz described as a particular Hungarian ailment the constant blaming of the past and the groundless search for an enemy.

According to President Goncz, the things that happened in previous decades must be accepted as facts, and the wounds must be allowed to heal. The head of state also said that public opinion often criticizes the National Assembly for the occasionaly lengthy debates there. It has to be known, Arpad Goncz said, that even if the six parliamentary parties seem to be following different paths and professing different views; they all want the same thing: the creation of a prosperous Hungary.

### Workers Federation Adopts Union Status

*LD2209183990 Budapest MTI in English 1728 GMT 22 Sep 90*

[Text] Budapest, September 22 (MTI)—During their Saturday congress in Budapest, the 126 delegates of the National Federation of Workers' Councils adopted the federation's trade union status with the comment that the direction of further development will depend on whether the independent trade union or the workers' council movement will become stronger.

It was stated at the congress that the National Federation of Workers' Councils is independent of parties and derives its legitimacy from the members' confidence. The workers' council is not a party, and its relationship to the government cannot be defined either as oppositionist or pro-governmental.

### New National Newspaper To Be Launched

*AU2109171590 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 18 Sep 90 p 5*

[MTI report: "MAI REGGEL Beginning Thursday"]

[Text] At a news conference held in the Budapest Duna-Intercontinental Hotel on 17 September, it was announced that a new national newspaper entitled MAI REGGEL [This Morning] would appear beginning 20 September. The newspaper will be the publication of the MAI NAP Kiado Rt. [TODAY Publishers Ltd.]. The chief editor, Istvan Petak, said that the newspaper planned to print 100,000 copies. This daily will offer its readers a new service with its local news coverage in the three largest regions of the country.

### President Goncz on Changes in, Role of Army

*LD2209183190 Budapest MTI in English 1617 GMT 22 Sep 90*

[Text] Budapest, September 22 (MTI)—The Republic of Hungary accepts the territorial realities in Europe. It strives for good relations with every nation and friendly ties with all its neighbours. We are aiming for cooperation with all our neighbours, based on mutual respect for national and minority interests laid down in inter-state agreements, Arpad Goncz, president of the Republic and commander-in-chief of the Hungarian Armed Forces, stated at the oath-taking ceremony of about 1,000 soldiers at Szekesfehervar on Saturday.

Following, Goncz pointed out, "The meaning of mutual confidence and security has changed in the minds of European peoples and nations. It has become clear that the principle of confrontation and power supremacy does not guarantee the security of any nation. The revolutionary changes in the East European countries have created a new alternative to the peaceful and democratic Europe. This requires every country, among them Hungary, to re-consider its security policy and military principles. The international activity of parliament and the government is aimed at creating conditions for a sovereign Hungarian statehood outside blocs.

"The Army was able to remain a stabilizing factor in the life of society even amid the political squabblings. It is the common cause and interest of the nation that the Army be not affected by the parties' political ambitions, stay away from day-to-day political struggles and act in accordance with the law and the long-term objectives of the nation. The transformation of the Armed Forces into a defence force should be carried out at a reasonable pace," Goncz said.

The soldiers who took the oath will already serve only 12 months in the Army.

### Intelligence Chief Discusses Extremist Actions

*AU2309153390 Vienna KURIER in German 21 Sep 90 p 5*

[Georg Berenyi report on "exclusive" interview with Lajos Nagy, director of the National Security Office, in Budapest; date not given: "Hungary's 'James Bond' Hunts Old Stalinists"]

[Text] At the door of the seven-story house in Budapest's inner city, a large, gleaming name plate draws attention to the National Security Office, which has been headquartered in this building for three months. Its predecessor—one of the many departments of the Interior Ministry—never made its existence public. The predecessors in the more remote past (be it "state protection authority" or "political police"), however, certainly made their existence known—primarily through sudden nighttime visits to citizens who were considered a "danger to the socialist state system."

"To be considered such a danger, it was sufficient for someone to deviate from the ruling ideology in his way of thinking," Layos Nagy says, recalling the times of the dictatorship of the Communist Party [CP]. At that time the the way in which one thought was enough to make one a suspect and a "domestic enemy"—in early fulfillment of the nightmare predicted by George Orwell for 1984. Furthermore, "bearers of anticommunist ideas" were arrested, tortured, and put on show trials with fictitious indictments, but real sentences.

The ideological basis for the terror was provided by Stalin's infamous theses of the "obligatory escalation of the class struggle." Nagy: "Even a document with critical views, which was distributed in the underground, was considered to be an activity hostile to the state." The CP leadership expected the State Security Service to constantly provide reports on such "activities of dangerous elements," who in reality hardly constituted a threat of a coup d'etat.

In the 1950's the struggle against "suspect elements" was carried out with the brutal use of force; after the crushed revolution of 1956 it was done a bit more "tenderly."

Even shortly before its end last year the CP state still had opposition members observed.

"Today we have to protect the state system against real dangers." Lajos Nagy stresses three spheres of work of his authority, which was established on 1 March: counterespionage, protection of the Constitution, and combating terrorism. "In contrast to the security organs, which were justifiably feared in the past, the current body for the protection of the Constitution detects the enemy where he is really working." By this Nagy means, above all, extreme political trends: racists and anti-Semitic actions—directed against prominent people, minorities, or foreigners. "We have to uncover activities of groups with a clearly fascist character in time. These groups are mostly formed by young people in cities, in Budapest and near the western border: They are looking for allies abroad."

However, there is also no lack of signs of ultraleftist activities. "For instance, we received information that like-minded people are regularly meeting in the wine cellar of a prominent politician from the CP period and accumulate weapons there."

Nevertheless, Lajos Nagy rules out the assumption that there is a "mass basis" for either ultrarightist or ultraleftist organizations. Will this continue to be so? "In times like ours, in times of a strongly decreasing standard of living and a tense atmosphere, dissatisfied people increasingly permit themselves to be tempted by extreme actions. I see, therefore, a real danger concerning the development of dangerous groups in the near future."

One indication of the tense atmosphere in the country is the rising wave of anonymous letters, which Nagy receives. "A person for whom I have great esteem once called Hungary the 'country of informers,' where one-half of the nation informs on the other as soon as the system changes. This is a relic from the CP time, when the leadership imposed the 'duty to be vigilant' on the citizens. At that time people were uncovered as agents of imperialism on the basis of the tiniest suspicion."

The enemy image of counterespionage has changed fundamentally. "So far it was directed one-sidedly against the West—after all, we were not permitted to have any secrets from the allies in the Warsaw Pact. Now we have to expect intelligence activities from all countries. There are even indications that the role of the 'espionage paradise' might shift from Vienna to Budapest; however, we should not interfere in activities which are not directed against our country."

The times when terrorists were played down as "freedom fighters" in Hungary are over. "For us they are criminals, regardless of the slogans they write on their banners," Nagy stresses. "However, one can combat them only by means of international cooperation. Because of our good contacts with foreign colleagues—also with the Austrian colleagues—we received information a few weeks ago about a planned terrorists attack and were then able to prevent it."

Even though the end justifies the means, the "tested methods" in intelligence work are used today only with the strictest regulations, Nagy says. There are still enough bad memories.

Lajos Nagy: "Hundreds, if not thousands, of pieces of mail were intercepted, opened, and checked every day. A letter with a Western address on it was suspicious just if the sender worked in a strategically important research institute. Such persons also had their telephone conversations monitored regularly."

A corresponding order could be given by a department head in the Interior Ministry. Today it is only the justice minister who may do this, and he is permitted to restrict a citizens' basic rights for one month only if there are serious reasons for this.

What about the network of spies? Nagy: "I prefer to call them informers. No intelligence service in the world can work without them. To my great pleasure, most of the informers of the organizations preceding us expressed their readiness to work with us—regardless of the change in the system, for the sake of the fatherland."

Is it possible to abuse the intelligence services for private purposes—as this happened in Austria, for instance, when companies gave orders for spying to the State Police? "We are given other orders, for instance, checking business premises for bugs. We accepted these orders for parliament, for instance, and for offices and apartments of leading politicians—but we do not search for bugs in private companies."

In Hungary it is an open secret that the former CP intelligence service often fulfilled direct orders by the supreme party leadership—without observing the laws. Today the office is subordinate to the head of government and is supervised by the minister. Is an abuse by the new leaders now impossible? "Theoretically not," Nagy admits. "I can speak only for myself, when I say that I would not fulfill an illegal order and would immediately report to parliament."

### Sejm, Senate, Presidential Terms Shortened

*LD2109224190 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1950 GMT 21 Sep 90*

[Text of resolution read by speaker Oleg Krzyzanowska and passed by the Sejm session in Warsaw—from the live relay]

[Excerpts] We are now going to vote on the draft resolution presented by the Convent of Elders. Who favors accepting this draft? I will read aloud the text of the draft. [passage omitted] The Convent of Elders presents the following draft resolution for the esteemed chamber:

Resolution of the Sejm of the Polish Republic of 21 September 1990 on shortening the 10th term of office of the Sejm, Senate, and president of the Polish Republic.

The Sejm of the Polish Republic, having considered the political and systemic changes that have taken place in Poland and that are also connected with passing a whole array of important laws concerning the reorganization of the supreme state authorities, and local self-government, economic transformations, as well as the dissolution of two political parties participating in the roundtable contract, and the creation of many new political groups, considers it appropriate:

First, to shorten the 10th term of office of the Sejm, which also means shortening the Senate's term of office. From today's perspective it seems possible that a decision on a date for the Sejm's own dissolution can be made by the end of the first quarter of 1991;

Second, to request that the Sejm Presidium, as well as the government of the Polish Republic, propose a package of the most necessary legal acts, whose quick passing is imperative to the continuation of the reforming of Poland and assuring citizens' social welfare, as well as for passing the 1991 budget;

Third, in reference to the statement by the president of the Polish Republic acknowledging the expediency of shortening the president's term of office, to undertake the legislative measures anticipated by law, so that general presidential elections can be held no later than this December.

## Further on Walesa Presidency Announcement

### Walesa Views Presidency Concept

*LD2009184290 Warsaw PAP in English 1648 GMT 20 Sep 90*

[Text] Gdansk, Sept. 20—During the first press conference held after the announcement he would run for president of the Republic of Poland, at the crude oil refinery here today, Solidarity leader Lech Walesa did not present any detailed political programme.

"I announced I would run in the next elections to cause a political movement which would update the situation," he said.

"And today the Sejm is speaking about acceleration though no longer than six to seven months ago I was beaten for this slogan. I will be a candidate of the Solidarity reform movement in order to fulfill what I promised. I am not an advocate of classical concepts of presidency, as for instance, the French, Italian or American ones. I want to do it in a different way, I want to surprise everybody. My idea is not wine and dinners but the "Flying Dutchman" travelling around Poland and interfering where it is necessary. There will be too much of Walesa and that is why people are afraid....," he said.

### Citizens Comment on Announcement

*AU2109135990 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 18 Sep 90 pp 1, 2*

[Roundup of statements compiled by Tomasz Roguski and Grzegorz Sieczkowski: "Lech Walesa: I Decided Today"]

[Text] How will Lech Walesa's announcement change the political situation or affect the course of the talks with the primate?—We put these questions to several people who are currently involved in Polish political life.

Jan Litynski, Citizens Movement Democratic Action [ROAD]: "It was to be expected. We finally have a decision that clearly states that Lech Walesa will be a candidate in presidential elections. For quite a number of months now, Walesa has been conducting an election campaign without actually having announced his decision.

"It is still not a formal announcement of his candidacy, but marks the beginning of preparations for elections, in which two important candidates will take part.

"It is no coincidence that Lech Walesa announced his candidacy at this particular time, on the eve of the meeting with the primate. It will probably not have an impact on the course of the talks, because it only confirms what was known previously."

Krzysztof Czabanski, TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC: "The fact that Lech Walesa made this announcement on 17 September, on the anniversary of the fourth partition of Poland, appears to be of a symbolic kind only on the surface. It underscores that he was always a champion of Polish independence. His statement on the withdrawal of Soviet forces from Poland was just one example to which I would draw attention.

"His statements mean that the meeting with the primate cannot turn into a second 'roundtable.' An impression that should not arise is that General Jaruzelski will step down as the result of some kind of secret agreement. Some kind of contract with the nomenklatura is out of the question.

"Finally, the statement shows that the political and economic situation in the country requires a reorganization of the political system. This is not an issue that Walesa has only just started to raise. The most important thing is that ownership and structural changes in the economy are proceeding too slowly, and this has created a dangerous mix of feelings in society. On the one hand, there is a mood of total apathy, a turning away from politics and public life, and, on other hand, a mounting feeling of anger that the postcommunist nomenklatura is faring best in the present situation in the country.

"During the talks with the primate, the stances of various sides will become clearer. Lech Walesa has announced his candidacy, which is backed by the Center Accord, ROAD, and the Forum of the Democratic Right have declared that they would back Tadeusz Mazowiecki."

Jadwiga Staniszkis, sociologist: "I will support him. It is true that there are traces of political populism in in his approach, but he is definitely not a populist when it comes to economics. I hope that when Lech Walesa becomes president, he will make many political and economic adjustments. I expect privatization to be speeded up and a state policy on industry to be finally introduced. I think that his slogan of opening up the political system would strengthen party structures, weaken political blocs that do not have a clear identity, as well as introduce new socioeconomic elites into the political scene. It is question of bringing in those groups that want to promote economic growth."

Andrzej Machalski, Congress of Liberals: "It was the right person saying the right thing at the right time and in the right way."

Leszek Miller, Social Democratic Party of the Republic of Poland: "Lech Walesa's announcement does not come as a surprise. It had been expected for a long time. By making the announcement just before the meeting with the primate, he is calling for unambiguous announcements regarding other presidential election candidacies and a clear-cut definition of their programs. At this point, I still do not know whether Lech Walesa will implement the changes that he has talked about. I am waiting for his program, which must surface during the election campaign. If his program is about those changes, then he will have an enormous section of the electorate behind him and the best possible chance of becoming president."

### Christian Democrats Support Walesa

*LD2109183190 Warsaw PAP in English 1723 GMT 21 Sep 90*

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 21—Lech Walesa met here today with the council of the Christian-Democratic Forum of the Centre Alliance.

Representatives of the forum informed Walesa of their support for his candidature for the office of Poland's president.

### New Political Parties Show Support

*LD2309220690 Warsaw PAP in Engish 1714 GMT 23 Sep 90*

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 23—The process of emergence of new political parties does not cease in Poland. A Republican Party was born in Krakow on September 22, whose programmatic declaration includes, apart from general vows to create a new sovereign Polish republic, a postulate of a presidential-parliamentary system of government. The Republican Party sees Lech Walesa as the next president of Poland.

Also on Saturday, a Social Justice Party was set up in Wroclaw. This party has placed itself on the side of the opposition to the policy of the present government by representing an opinion that it did not, among other things, compensate for the losses suffered in the Stalinist era. The party has so far not expressed its view on the problem of upcoming presidential election.

Walesa as presidential candidate got support from the Christian National Union also on Saturday. The union stressed that it backed Walesa as a candidate representing Christian and national virtues.

Support for Lech Walesa came also from the Liberal-Democratic Congress which had earlier adopted a respective resolution and now formally confirmed its joining the Centre Alliance.

### Walesa Meets Radio, TV Employees

*LD2209221390 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 22 Sep 90*

[Text] In the building of the Radio and TV Affairs Committee, on Woronicza Street, a meeting was held between employees of this institution and Lech Walesa.

The Solidarity chairman said that TV or radio programs are not made for Walesa or Mazowiecki, but for Poland, for its future, and their children.

During the discussion, a number of issues were raised, especially those regarding Lech Walesa's candidacy for president of the republic. The Solidarity chairman stated that, as far as his prospects for being elected to this post are concerned, he is an optimist.

He also acknowledged that journalists often abuse phrases used only in isolated disputes. For instance, this was the case with the term egghead, referring to the intelligentsia. Walesa in no way wants to offend educated people.

### Walesa Addresses Citizens Committee

*LD2309204290 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 23 Sep 90*

[Report by correspondent Andrzej Jelonski on 23 September session of the Solidarity Citizens Committee in Warsaw, including recorded statement by Solidarity leader Lech Walesa]

[Excerpts] It was the 15th meeting. It was opened by a speech by Adam Bien, a minister of the government of the Republic in Poland during the [German] occupation, and the last surviving participant of the trial of the 16 [in Moscow in June 1945]. He said: We ought to strive to create a free, just, and independent Poland, and one good for all Poles. Today in Poland a government must be created which will govern wisely, firmly, and justly.

In his speech Lech Walesa, Independent Self-Governing Trade Union Solidarity chairman, spoke:

[Walesa] Ideally, it would look like this, because we formed unity and constituted unity well. However, if we consider what we have done in these 10 years, what aims we sought, we must perceive differences in various periods of both our behavior and strivings. Just as victory would have been unimaginable in 1980 if we had not been in solidarity. If there had not been 10 million of us, I cannot imagine victory. As now, when our main aim is, to put it most briefly, a market economy, and a market economy with variety and the possibility of choice. The market economy [word indistinct] of these three main subjects, that is social, and thus, various trade unions, associations. A market economy in the economy, but a market economy also in politics. A market economy cannot be built by maintaining the unity and monopoly of even this beautiful Solidarity.

Naturally, we must be in solidarity in certain, but only in certain subjects. In others, we must be market-oriented. But I am convinced that today if we were to maintain unity in practically all subjects, it would end badly for Poland. All the revolutions, even the Bolshevik one, also said to their leaders: Wait, there is not time, the Whites are attacking; wait, we should pick up the economy. By the time they thought about it they were already handcuffed. We, naturally, are in different conditions and in other times. But, also, if one observes well, it can be noticed that in Poland monopolistic influences can already be seen here and there. We cannot be differentiated by the color of our skin. We cannot be differentiated by our economic property because we are too poor. Thus, we must look for differences in order to defend ourselves more easily, in order to precisely live more safely. That is more or less how I see the problem of unity and difference.

[Jelonski] During the meeting a draft amendment to the Citizens Committee work rules, including a name change, was presented. It was reported that the political committee had made contact with individual political parties, several of which had announced their wish to join the Citizens Committee. The KPN [Confederation for Poland's Independence] turned down cooperation. The complete membership of the committee is still unknown, after 63 people suspended their participation in its work in June. During the discussion, attention was drawn to the fact that the name Solidarity is reserved for the trade union with its headquarters in Gdansk. A lot of time was taken up by discussion on the matter of appointing a citizens' fund, which was created on the initiative of Lech Walesa at the beginning of this year. A new council for the fund was elected. [passage omitted]

At the end of the meeting, a resolution was accepted stating that the Constitution of the third republic ought to be passed by a parliament elected in its entirity in free elections, while the president elected by the nation takes over his office on the basis of those elections, and not on the principle of it being formally transferred. A resolution was also accepted connected with the crime of genocide against Polish officers in the Kozielsk, Starobielsk, and Ostaszkow camps, demanding that the Polish Government speeded up the exhumation of the graves of the Polish soldiers, the establishment of Polish cemeteries in the USSR, and the bringing to justice of the surviving perpetrators of the murders.

Another resolution dealt with ecology, and the carrying out of necessary organizational changes in the functioning of our (?national) mass media, so that during the election campaign they could carry out their role properly, in accord with public expectations and democratic principles. It was decided to hold the next meeting of the committee on 27 October.

### Mazowiecki Agrees To Run for President

*LD2209183590 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1835 GMT 22 Sep 90*

[Text] Tadeusz Mazowiecki has agreed to run for president of the Polish Republic, announced deputy Jan Rokita from the Citizens' Parliamentary Club.

Rokita was speaking to journalists on behalf of the Citizens' Movement Democratic Action [ROAD], following the meeting of the representatives of this movement with the prime minister.

### Mazowiecki Interviewed on Cabinet Reshuffle

*PM2109144690 Lodz GLOS PORANNY in Polish 15-16 Sep 90 pp 1-2*

[Interview with Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki, by GLOS PORANNY correspondent Henryk Sroczynski; place and date not given; first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] Soon after the Sejm approved the prime minister's proposals for changes to be made in the cabinet of ministers, we succeeded in obtaining an interview with Tadeusz Mazowiecki.

[Sroczynski] Mr. Prime Minister, you have just finalized a successful implementation of your personal blueprint for the composition of the government. This coincided also with the anniversary of the appointment of your cabinet. The latter, however, is under some criticism, too....

[Mazowiecki] It is normal for a government to be attacked. Given the very difficult tasks that it must carry out, and the adverse economic situation, there is no way it could avoid being attacked. We must carefully heed the critical voices being addressed to us. And we must not dismiss them under any circumstances.

[Sroczynski] Will the new people in the three crucial sectors instill a new vigor into the cabinet's work? Will there be a new quality to its operation?

[Mazowiecki] We shall see. I think that a new quality will emerge mostly in the area of the new system of ownership relations that is being created. This is an entirely new area, and there are paths here which have not yet been cleared. No one has done it before on a comparable scale. As regards the agriculture sector, in turn, I pin high hopes on the new minister's ability to defuse the existing tensions and to build an atmosphere of mutual tolerance in the joint search for solutions—which would be taxing for any country—that can ease the introduction of agriculture into the sphere of market economy. I said "taxing" because other countries have experienced similar difficulties on the same course. Finally, as regards the communications sector, our operations are already reasonably advanced there in certain areas. They must be finalized decisively so that our telephone communications infrastructure can be vigorously propelled forward.

[Sroczynski] Will the expected ruthlessness of the approaching election campaign not exert a destructive influence on the situation in the country?

[Mazowiecki] Things certainly could take such a turn. The main concern is that these issues should be resolved without damaging the overriding interests of the country. When it comes to the interests of national economy and foreign policy, these are the fundamental cornerstones which must not be disturbed.

[Sroczynski] In this context, what could be the significance of the intended meeting which is to be to be hosted by the primate, Cardinal Glemp?

[Mazowiecki] In my opinion, this meeting should serve the purpose of preserving a common language to be shared by all involved. It should also promote political culture in our country.

### Mazowiecki Attends Christian-Democrat Forum

*LD2309213890 Warsaw PAP in English 1934 GMT 23 Sep 90*

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 23—Representatives of Christian-Democratic unions, clubs and other groups met at the Sejm here today on the invitation of deputies and senators of Christian-Democratic orientation from the OKP [Citizens Parliamentary Club].

Among the invited guests were Tadeusz Mazowiecki, Andrzej Stelmachowski and Andrzej Wielowieyski. Present were also representatives of the Centre Alliance, Democratic Right Forum, and the Christian-Democratic Labour Party.

This was the first meeting at one table of representatives of this orientation which is represented in the OKP by 65 persons. The group plans to work for the consolidation and creation of an organizational structure of all the Christian-Democratic groups and individuals.

### ROAD's Wujec on Center Accord, Walesa, Elections

*AU1909172590 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 15-16 Sep 90 p 3*

[Interview with Henryk Wujec of ROAD, by Janina Paradowska; place and date not given: "We Could Have Still Been Together"]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] [Paradowska] Does the Citizens Movement Democratic Action [ROAD] have a cure for social apathy?

[Wujec] Our movement has people who have always been socially active. We feel that we must give people a chance to be active in various fields and support their efforts. Social action will grow in such conditions. Today, contrary to appearances, there are few opportunities. Trade unions function in a strict framework and only the citizens committees could have done what they did for local-government elections. The people who want to do and propose things do not know how to organize themselves. ROAD wants to create these opportunities. Contrary to what the Center Accord says, we believe that people, not just the government, should decide what and how to change in Poland. We will encourage worker and citizen participation in state enterprise and cooperative privatization. We think that not enough is being done to help changes in agriculture. Farmers will not survive on a diet of politics, nor will they be able to feed the rest of us. We want to create an independent model of education (social schools) and organize local culture.

Finally, a third difference. Center Accord clearly supported the rail workers' and farmers' wage claims. Supporting claims while simultaneously proposing a liberal program and allowing individual groups to advance priority claims, is contradictory. [passage omitted]

[Paradowska] An obvious difference is the relationship to Lech Walesa. Are you against Walesa?

[Wujec] At the beginning we were, but the situation is changing and constantly developing. Initially, Walesa supported the Center Accord, however, he was pleased when ROAD was formed, because it suited his conception of two strong groups. Nevertheless, he has never

clearly opted for one side or the other. This is the position that suits him best.

[Paradowska] ROAD does not hide the fact that it will support Mazowiecki. How do you explain the change toward Walesa?

[Wujec] If the prime minister agrees to stand, we shall have two serious candidates with strong personalities and people will have the chance of choosing. As for Walesa, passions have died down and there are people in ROAD who see an important political role for Walesa. ROAD is not against Walesa. We only differ on who should be president. We think Mazowiecki is a better candidate.

[Paradowska] Zbigniew Bujak has already suggested a role for Walesa as leader of a Center Accord parliamentary club.

[Wujec] First, there will be presidential elections. If Walesa wins, the matter is resolved. If he loses and then stands in the Sejm elections and is successful, the position of parliamentary party club leader is a good platform for a politician. [passage omitted]

[Paradowska] Do you think the Sejm will adopt the amendment to the Constitution and shorten its term?

[Wujec] It will probably adopt the amendment, although it will take a lot of negotiation and explanation of our position. The decision to shorten its term is difficult, because many present deputies know they will not be reelected and the resistance may be great. If a spring timetable is suggested—after the budget and local authority votes—then it might be acceptable.

I would state that ROAD is not urging a shortened parliamentary term and an electoral system that would favor large parties. Small parties have no chance of winning seats and this kind of electoral law does not serve the development of democracy, because most parties would find themselves without representation in parliament. [passage omitted]

[Paradowska] What role will the citizens committees play in the elections, seeing that both ROAD and the Center Accord will go into the elections under their banner? Will some go with ROAD and others with the Center Accord?

[Wujec] We are in a transition period and undoubtedly some will support ROAD and others the Center Accord. This depends on how soon elections are held. If soon, the former "Solidarity" could split into four electoral lists, namely, ROAD, the Center Accord, regional citizens committees (those opting to remain independent), and the "Solidarity" trade union. If elections come later, the activists will have made up their minds and the committees as political instruments will probably pass into history. One must bear in mind the general principle that once formed, a structure liquidates itself with great difficulty. It has its cadres, technical base, and organizational habits. [passage omitted]

[Paradowska] Thus, the split was for the best?

[Wujec] In my opinion, it was best for democracy, but it was premature for Poland. The differences in the "Solidarity" camp were not that great. The best proof of this is that we have talked for so long to highlight these differences. But the split was Walesa's decision and that is the way it happened. I still think we could have stayed together.

### Government Spokesman Comments on Political Changes

*LD2109153790 Warsaw PAP in English 1417 GMT 21 Sep 90*

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 21—"The aim of my statement today is not to uncritically praise the government for its achievements but to make all of us conscious of the fact that despite numerous and inevitable mistakes and errors, huge changes took place in this country," said government press spokesman Malgorzata Niezabitowska at the beginning of a press conference here today.

"Of course, these changes are not solely the work of the government. They were possible owing to common work and united huge efforts of the parliament, the government and the Polish nation. Many of these changes are a part of complex and long processes whose results—though they are advanced—would be visible in future," Niezabitowska continued.

"The government undertook upon itself a task to establish legal and institutional frames which would give the nation a chance to overcome the great civilization and economic crisis—the heritage of the 45 years of communism. We are deeply convinced this is a real chance which will be used."

While answering questions by Polish and foreign newsmen, the government spokesman said serious negative consequences of the Persian Gulf conflict for the Polish economy were causing deep anxiety of the Polish Government.

"The implementation of Poland of economic sanctions imposed on Iraq results in losses which are initially estimated at nearly 2.5 billion U.S. dollars," she said.

Niezabitowska said the introduction of entry visas to united Germany for Poles would be recieved by the Polish nation as an attempt to build new divisions in Europe, this time on the Polish-German border and in such a significant sphere of interhuman relations.

### Army Daily To Cease Publishing 30 Sep

*LD2109221890 Warsaw PAP in English 2018 GMT 21 Sep 90*

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 21—The ZOLNIERZ RZECZYPOSPOLITEJ Army daily will stop to come out as of September 30.

The daily is a continuation of the ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI which was published since June 12, 1943, initially as a paper of the Tadeusz Kosciuszko Infantry Division formed in the Soviet Union.

### New Polish Army Daily To Be Published

*LD2209195890 Warsaw PAP in English 1754 GMT 22 Feb 90*

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 22—The first issue of a new Polish Army daily "POLSKA ZBROJNA" (ARMED POLAND) will appear in mid-October.

The daily will be a continuation of "POLSKA ZBROJNA" that appeared from 1921 to September 20, 1939. The last issue of "POLSKA ZBROJNA" with the latter date was published in besieged Warsaw.

Jerzy Slaski, an experienced journalist with Catholic press, is editor in chief.

### State Railways Head on Poor Financial Situation

*AU1909132590 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 13 Sep 90 p 4*

[Interview with Aleksander Janiszewski, director of Polish State Railways, by Jacek Swidzynski; place and date not given: "Trains Without Special Supervision"]

[Excerpts] [Swidzynski] One hears more and more about the critical state of Polish State Railways [PKP]. Is the situation that bad?

[Janiszewski] Without a doubt we are in a worse situation than we were in the 1970's. In those years, we were transporting more than 484 million tonnes of freight annually. This year we shall carry less than 300 million tonnes. The more freight we carried the easier it was to obtain finance from the state budget. The PKP could get money much easier. Today, the situation has changed. The lower our freight traffic, the lower the income the PKP generates and thus it has lower financial resources.

[Swidzynski] Are the rail workers' pay claims also responsible for this state of affairs?

[Janiszewski] On the contrary, it is the poor financial condition of the PKP that does not allow it to meet the justified pay claims of its workers. In West Europe, railway workers are paid the average industrial wage, but in Poland our rail workers receive well below our average industrial wage. However, I would like to repeat, we simply do not have the money. [passage omitted]

[Swidzynski] According to the law the state budget covers half the costs incurred by the PKP.

[Janiszewski] According to the law on the PKP, the state only finances up to 50 percent of the cost of repairs and modernization of PKP's infrastructure. The rest of the cost is met by the PKP from its income. For 1990, the government's PKP subsidy was 2 trillion zlotys and this is insufficient to cover the stated percentage. The second part of the subsidy is destined to subsidize passenger traffic deficit (allowances and other subsidies for suburban rail services). In total, the government subsidy only covers approximately 18.8 percent of costs incurred by the PKP. For example, West German State Railways receive a subsidy of DM13 billion to set off expenditure of DM [Deutsche mark] 30 billion. No railway in the world makes a profit and the state's economic interest dictates that its railways receive a subsidy. [passage omitted]

[Swidzynski] Is there any finance for further investments?

[Janiszewski] The financial situation is bad. Our income is growing at a slower rate than costs of materials and services. That is why—instead of making publicity grabbing investments—we must concentrate on repairing what we have and developing passenger services rather than freight. The PKP is now wholly electrified, but we have, for example, no comfortable transit stations for passengers. We must make rail travel more comfortable. The PKP does not have a single air conditioned car and we do not have modern rolling stock. [passage omitted]

[Swidzynski] Do you intend to liquidate part of the network?

[Janiszewski] Yes. We operate about 24,000 km of track and about 4,000 km of that is old, little used, and unprofitable. We shall liquidate this track. The first phase involves about 2,000 km. We shall dispose of sidetracks, leaving them to enterprises. This is arousing strong protest from localities that have become used to their branch lines and have more faith in the local rail system than in the bus service. We may implement Belgium's solution and provide PKP buses on branch lines that operate at a deficit.

[Swidzynski] This sounds very modest. We were expecting West European standards.

[Janiszewski] West European standards cost a lot of money. By 1995, we want to introduce high-speed 200 km per hour trains on the main rail routes. Our main tracks are built to carry trains at speeds of 250 km per hour. We can accommodate the fastest high-speed trains. We want to introduce up to 40 passenger express trains on the Warsaw-Poznan-Berlin line and further west that would travel at speeds of 140-160 km. We have already introduced approximately 100 new freight trains into our existing timetable.

[Swidzynski] Transit traffic has diminished. Could we not make better use of Poland's favorable location in Europe?

[Janiszewski] We can and we must. The international express trains I mentioned are but one example. We should do everything to make the journey from the West to Moscow as fast as possible. The same will be done with freight trains and composite freight trains are the new trend. We are discussing these matters with our

foreign partners and Sweden is very interested in the north-south transit route. We have to accept, however, that we shall not be able to modernize our rail communication network by ourselves. This is an all-European matter. In this area, cooperation can bring concrete results.

[Swidzynski] The PKP's economic climate and situation is not very good.

[Janiszewski] We must change it. Reorganization of the PKP, necessary personnel changes, and "trimming" several of PKP's subsidiaries and enterprises will produce much better economic results. Nevertheless, state aid will still be needed.

### Balcerowicz Statement Prior to Washington Visit

*LD2209184690 Warsaw PAP in English 1726 GMT 22 Sep 90*

[Text] Warsaw, Sept 22—Before his departure for the United States today, Vice Prime Minister Leszek Balcerowicz said this to journalists at the airport:

"I am leaving to take part in the annual session of the International Monetary Fund. Apart from this, I will hold many meetings with U.S. politicians in Washington and with finance ministers of Western countries who will have arrived there.

"The topics are well-known and, against the background of our economic programme and its results, they will include our expectations towards the West and primarily the reduction of our debt. I think that we stand a considerable chance for this. The West should show such courage in approaching this problem as we, as a country and a people, show in approaching our economic problems."

### 'Dromex' Company To Supply Iraq With Engineers

*AU2409102690 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 22-23 Sep 90 p 1*

[Unattributed report: "The Well Paid and the Fearless"]

[Text] The "Dromex" company will shortly send 50 employees to Iraq: Eight of them are returning to Iraq after vacationing in Poland and 42 were recently recruited by the company.

On 21 September "Dromex" made offers of employment in Iraq to 60 people and 35 accepted. A week earlier offers were made to 30 people and 7 accepted. Of those who have been vacationing in Poland, only one declined to renew his contract and return to Iraq. The firm offers financial incentives. Dariusz Slotwinski, who deals with Iraqi matters for "Dromex," said: "We do not hide the fact that the salaries are higher than normal."

Those who have been on vacation in Poland will probably return to Iraq on 1 October; the new employees will have to wait one month for their visas. They may not be able to travel to Iraq if, for example, an air blockade of Iraq is instituted.

### Entry Visas Required for United Germany

*LD2109175690 Warsaw PAP in English 1649 GMT 21 Sep 90*

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 21—As of October 3, 1990, the to-date visa regulations of the Federal Republic of Germany will be binding on the entire territory of united Germany, the FRG Embassy in Warsaw announced today.

Special regulations concerning trips to West Berlin will expire as of October 3. Thus, Polish citizens travelling to Germany or making a transit trip via that country must have entry visas as of October 3. The to-date visa regulations remain in force till October 2, 1990.

### Reaction to Border Control Decision

*LD2109130390 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1215 GMT 21 Sep 90*

[Text] Warsaw (ADN)—Beginning on 3 October all citizens of the former GDR will need visas for trips to Poland. This was announced today by government spokeswoman Malgorzata Niezabitowska at a press conference in Warsaw.

The government spokeswoman repeated the Polish side's regret about the recent decision by the two German states to extend compulsory visas for Poles to the entire territory of Germany. Despite the talks being conducted on the subject between Poland and the Federal Republic, the Polish Council of Ministers has decided to take similar measures.

Malgorzata Niezabitowska stated that measures will be taken with regard to the incident at the Swinoujscie border control point, where 1,000 GDR citizens stormed the Polish customs authorities upon returning to the GDR. These measures will include better staffing of the border posts. As a result of the Swinoujscie case it has been decided that Polish [market] stalls will no longer be allowed in the immediate border area. Since Polish customs regulations are already so liberal they should not be circumvented.

### Foreign Ministry Publishes Communique

*LD2209135190 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1300 GMT 22 Sep 90*

[Text] As a result of the decision by the Federal Republic of Germany to introduce from 3 October the obligation for Polish citizens traveling to the whole area of united Germany to hold visas, the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs has expressed deep regret and disappointment. A published communique emphasizes that this measure has caused understandable disquiet on the part of the Polish Government and Polish public opinion, all the more so as a rapprochement of all the nations is occuring

in Europe. The Polish Government at the same time also expresses hope that the decisions made will not be permanent.

### Restrictions To Be Reciprocated

*LD2209183290 Warsaw PAP in English 1724 GMT 22 Sep 90*

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 22—The Ministry of Foreign Affairs announces that the Embassy of the Federal Republic of Germany in Warsaw has been notified about the decision, taking effect on at midnight October 3, this year, which introduces the obligation of Polish travellers going to the entire territory of united Germany to hold German entry visas. This also means the suspension of all the hitherto possibilities of travelling to West Berlin and the GDR without such visas.

The Polish Government deeply regrets and is disappointed by the above decision which will have extensive consequences for Polish and German citizens. The fact has aroused justified concern of the Polish Government and public opinion especially during the rapprochement of all nations in Europe. Artificial boundaries built on our continent in past decades are being dismantled also with the help of the Polish Government. The Western states liberalize travel conditions for Hungarians, Czechs, and Slovaks. We, therefore ask those Western states: Why does this liberalization not apply to Polish people? On its part Poland is pursuing a very liberal and simple visa policy.

The Polish Government expresses its hope that the recently adopted decisions will not be of permanent nature. Our postulate is that the visa requirement be revoked, that is, discrimination against Polish citizens, in comparison with citizens of other post-communist countries, be stopped.

The Foreign Ministry announces that the stance of the FRG Embassy forces the Polish Government to undertaking a similar measure in relation to former GDR citizens, who will also be required to hold Polish entry visas starting on October 3, at midnight.

### Mazowiecki Sees No Obstacles to GDR Leaving Pact

*LD2309121990 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0605 GMT 23 Sep 90*

[From the "Sunday to Sunday" news roundup program]

[Text] The GDR ambassador to Poland has received a letter from Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki stating that Poland sees no obstacles to the GDR ceasing to be bound by the Warsaw Pact.

### Soviet MiG-19 Loses Bomb in Slupsk Forest

*LD2009183990 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1730 gmt 20 Sep 90*

[Text] A Soviet Mig-19 lost a bomb, which fell in a forest near Reblino, in Slupsk Voivodship. The bomb did not explode. A special military commission is investigating the matter.

### Soviet Troop Command in Lower Silesia Moved

*LD2009191190 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 20 Sep 90*

[Text] Soviet troop movements in Lower Silesia: This time, the command of the Northern Group of the Soviet Army [as heard] has moved from Swidnica to Legnica. The town has taken over the military hospital and also 243 apartments. They are in good condition, in general, and only some require renovation. Swidnica has also regained a school with boarding accomodations, and a high school will now be located in the former officers' mess building.

### Planning Office Statement on Soviet Oil Deliveries

*AU1909080790 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA (Economy and Law Supplement) in Polish 14 Sep 90 p 1*

[Statement issued by Jerzy Osiatynski, minister responsible for the Office of Central Planning: "Oil From the USSR: Turning Off the Tap"]

[Text] The reports that we carried a few days ago on the difficulties that may be encountered in obtaining oil (and natural gas) from the Soviet Union next year are still arousing controversy.

The Polish Government intends to hold negotiations on this subject with the Soviet Union at a higher level than before. TRYBUNA on 13 September carried an item entitled "The Taps Have Not Been Turned Off" containing a statement by the USSR's ambassador in Poland, Yuriy Kashlev, which denied the report on the Soviet side's intentions. We have received a statement on this subject from Jerzy Osiatynski, the minister responsible for the Office of Central Planning. It appears below in its entirety.

In light of the statement made by Yuriy Kashlev, the USSR ambassador in Warsaw, which appeared in TRYBUNA on 13 September under the headline "The Tap Has Not Been Turned Off," we have decided the situation as it actually is.

From 28 through 31 August Polish and Soviet delegations held talks in Moscow. The Polish delegation was headed by Stanislaw Dlugosz, undersecretary of state in the Office of Central Planning, and the Soviet delegation was headed by A. A. Troitskiy, deputy chairman of the USSR State Planning Committee. The delegations included representatives of the ministries concerned.

During the talks, the Soviet side, acting on the instructions of its government, informed the Polish side that deliveries of basic sources of energy will be significantly lower in relation to last year. Thus:

—Instead of the approximately 13 million tonnes of crude oil delivered to Poland until now and deliveries of 12.36 million tonnes that were agreed on for 1991 and the next few years, the deliveries of oil that have been proposed for 1991 amount to zero. The Polish delegation was also informed that the USSR was working on a final statement on the possibilities of receiving delivery of exports next year, but it was suggested that in order to obtain any supplies of oil whatsoever direct contacts should be established with Soviet republics and producers (appropriate steps were taken immediately).

—Instead of deliveries of petroleum products amounting to about 2.2 million tonnes annually and deliveries totalling the same amount that were agreed on—deliveries now proposed by the Soviets amount to zero.

—Instead of the 8.3 billion cubic meters of natural gas delivered until now and the supply of at least 6 billion cubic meters that was agreed on, the supply will be reduced to 5.2 billion cubic meters.

—In addition, the USSR could supply electric power amounting to 6.62 billion kilowatt hours, which is more or less in line with our needs, but on condition that this amount includes supply shortfalls during the period 1984-85, which runs counter to the decisions that are currently in force.

The Polish delegation drew attention to the fact that the Soviet side's stance is incompatible with current decisions, which were approved on three occasions at the level of premier, in accordance with which "the supply of basic fuels and raw materials from the USSR to the Polish People's Republic and from the Polish People's Republic to the USSR during the period 1991-95 will be maintained at the level attained during the years 1986-90." The Polish delegation also pointed out that the Soviet position was incompatible with the accord between J. Osiatynski, minister responsible for Office of Central Planning, and J. Maslyukov, first deputy chairman and chairman of the USSR State Planning Committee, on 28 February of this year. In addition, it was pointed out to the Soviet delegation that the proposal is completely incompatible with the decisions adopted at the 45th CEMA session, which were adopted on the initiative of the USSR delegation. According to those decisions, violent fluctuations in the development of mutual relations should be avoided in transferring to new cooperation conditions.

Ambassador Kashlev went on to state that the Polish side had called for economic cooperation to be based on world prices and on settlements made in convertible currencies. In light of this, it should be stated that a suggestion to that effect was submitted by N. Ryzhkov at the 45th CEMA session (Sofia, January 1990). The Polish delegation, while accepting that this was a just proposal, pointed out, form the beginning, that, in view of the structure of our trade with the USSR, Poland would suffer very substantial losses during a transition period (the accuracy of our estimates was confirmed by representatives of the government of the USSR). Hungary, Czechoslovakia, and the remaining CEMA countries will incur similar losses. Because of this, the resolution adopted at the 45th CEMA session contained a provision stating that the transition to world market prices and settlements in convertible currencies will occur on the basis of bilateral agreements between the countries concerned and the the use of instruments ("shock absorbers") which will prevent unilateral losses or unilateral gains. Poland's proposals concerning this issue, which were made on the basis of the provision that was unanimously approved at the 45th CEMA session, have not, thus far, met with a constructive response from the Soviet side.

Ambassador Kashlev ends his statement by saying that "there is complete freedom in direct commercial contacts between Poland and the USSR." Unfortunately, in light of current discussion at various levels of the state administration as well as talks by Polish exporters, the issue is not so clear cut. A more likely eventuality is that in 1991 there will be a certain tangible asymmetry between Polish enterprises, which have full access to imports for convertible currencies and the central system in the Soviet Union, whereby Soviet importers will be allocated convertible currency by central or republican authorities.

Ambassador Kashlev's statement essentially departs from the position that was adopted by the Soviet side during the talks with the Polish side that ended on 31 August. If Ambassador Kashlev's statement is based on new instructions from the Soviet authorities that alter the position that was presented to the Polish delegation by the Soviet delegation, then this can only be considered pleasing, but the USSR's new position should then be confirmed formally, through normal diplomatic contacts. Perhaps Ambassador really did receive new instructions, because the consultations that we have had with our Czechoslovakian and Hungarian colleagues since the August talks in Moscow seem to indicate that drastic reductions of this kind were only proposed to us.

There is one point made by J. Kashlev that one can fully agree with: The situation that has arisen calls for further intensive talks, but ones that will respect all the decisions that have been agreed on thus far and the equal interests of the two sides.

[Signed] Jerzy Osiatynski, minister responsible for the Office of Central Planning.

**Iliescu Interviewed; Expresses View on Government**

*AU2309143090 Bucharest AZI in Romanian 18 Sep 90 pp 1, 3*

[Interview with President Ion Iliescu by unidentified AZI reporter in Bucharest on 14 September—first paragraph is AZI introduction]

[Text] At Cotroceni Palace, President Ion Iliescu continued his series of dialogues with the representatives of the political parties and formations in our country. As previously reported, last Friday, 14 September, President Ion Iliescu received the delegation of the National Salvation Front [FSN]. Today we present his answers to the questions asked—after two additional hours of discussions—in a true collective interview.

[AZI] The recent series of meetings you had with the leaders of political parties and organizations in our country gave you the opportunity to feel the pulse of the country, as the saying goes, through the filter of their opinions. What conclusions did you reach after your meetings and talks in recent days?

[Iliescu] From various assessments made and from my own conclusions, one can distinguish two periods in the country's political evolution since the December revolution.

The period up to the elections—with a certain extension and inertia up to the middle of June—which was also marked by a moment of conflict; this period was dominated by the electoral competition and the political struggle to influence the electorate; a struggle also reflected in the activity of the Provisional National Unity Council [PNUC] and in the political relations between the political groups.

We are currently experiencing a new stage; one in which parliamentary activity is beginning to settle down and a new relationship is developing between the political forces. There are still differences, of course—sometimes very basic ones—regarding the positions, platforms, and options of the governmental group and the opposition groups. There is, however, a new note of greater political responsibility on the part of political groups and their representatives, primarily reflected in what I just referred to, namely the climate within the parliament—a climate of cooperation and dialogue, including controversy—but which has a constructive note. This new note is also given by the broader dialogue and political contacts among various groupings and between the political organizations and state bodies.

A Liberal deputy told me an interesting thing: In the first part of the year, following a series of measures taken to deal with the difficult economic situation inherited from the past, the people's material conditions registered a certain improvement in the area of supplies, incomes, heat, electricity, and so forth. This gave a certain satisfaction on the material and economic planes, at a time when political tension was very high. We have now entered a stage in which political tension is somewhat decreasing, without disappearing—because the sources of tension are constant—but economic difficulties are coming to the forefront. On the one hand, the economic inheritance begins to be felt along with new phenomena; on the other hand, the transition itself, the transformation of economic structures and of economic administration methods, and the promotion of the new legislation on economic reform are causing ripples and disturbances, by uncovering inertia and the inertia factors which must be defeated. Because of all this, the economic battle receives top priority. This particularly requires the pooling of all constructive forces interested in the country's renewal. They should create a united front of all creative capacities—regardless of political options—with a view to tackling the major problems of the country's renewal, which are problems of nationwide interest. To this end, the president is obliged to call for a permanent dialogue; he must be the linking and binding factor that can unite all the country's political forces—regardless of their differences of political options and views—around national commandments.

[AZI] As a neutral politician, how do you assess the recent government decision to accelerate reform in view of the transition blueprint presented by the FSN during the electoral campaign?

[Iliescu] These are practical matters concerning the application of the reform principles—in view of the fact that the dismantlement of the old structures is creating a hiatus. There used to be central structures which were giving guidance through the system of planning, distributing resources, and supervising financial levers; then followed the central departments, which coordinated the activity of enterprises. These structures were stifling the spirit of initiative and responsibility as well as the action ability of economic agents and the units themselves, where economic tasks are actually being fulfilled. The demolition of the old structures has begun, but there is a hiatus due to the fact that the new structures and the new forms and levers of management have not yet emerged.

From this viewpoint, on the one hand, it is necessary to speed up the legislative structures and the set of normative acts that can give everybody the necessary instruments for action and, on the other hand, it is necessary to accelerate the resettlement of activity on the new structures. The most difficult inheritance for us is the fact that a hampering mechanical system and pyramid-like structure and hierarchy have been established and maintained in our country. Given the technological and economic dynamism of contemporary development, all mechanical leadership structures and all hierarchal-pyramidal structures proved unviable and bankrupt. The cybernetic structures—with horizontal links and interconnections among all economic agents and with feedback and self-check elements—which regulate themselves while in the full swing of development, have emerged as a model for new structures. These are dynamic systems, with a great capacity for adjusting to the very fast and dynamic changes in the socioeconomic

life, which are imposed by the dynamism of technological renewal and by the new developments in research, technical creation, management thinking, and so forth. In the advanced countries, however, these structures have been forged over a period of time, under proper conditions of development, ripening, and improvement. We do not have time to introduce, study, and experiment with them all at once. We have to do everything while we move on, because the old structures are giving in and have even self-demolished to a certain extent; therefore, we must speed up the introduction of new structures.

Consequently, both at the level of legislation and the level of introducing the new structures, we must hurry up because, if we do not solve these problems, time is running out on us.

The most difficult problem is inertia—not only the inertia of the system and structures, but particularly the inertia in the people's minds. The most difficult task will be to find people with a dynamic and lively thinking and to help the people with experience to adjust to the new requirements.

[AZI] Mr. President, as far as your schedule is concerned, you no longer spare yourself at all. You had a long discussion with the FSN and you also had long meetings with other political formations thus far. I guess you want to institutionalize this kind of meeting—as a matter of fact, you said that yourself—in order to find out things, mediate, acquaint yourself with all these formations and opinions, and ensure a convergence toward democratization and correct life in Romania.

Do you want to institutionalize these forms of dialogue?

[Iliescu] Absolutely. This is one of the levers available to the president to fulfill this part of his mission. We will not limit ourselves only to contacts with political groups; we want to extend this dialogue to other structures, too, such as professional organizations, trade unions, youth and women's organizations, religious denominations, representative organizations of the national minorities, and so forth.

[AZI] Mr. President, you had experience as president before and after the elections. In your opinion, what is most suited for our country: the U.S., French, or Italian kind of presidency?

[Iliescu] You are now touching on a constitutional issue. This is a subject dealt with by the commission in charge of drafting the Constitution.

I believe that we cannot adopt the U.S. model, where the president is also the chief executive. Both our tradition and the European experience, which is closer to our structures and our kind of experience, make me state that, in my opinion, the French-type of presidency is best suited for us. That is, an active president, who can be a factor of permanent action and cooperation with the three elements of power: the legislative, judicial, and executive branches.

[AZI] Regarding this answer, I would like to ask you a more delicate question: Which is it better to be—director of a publishing house or president of Romania?

[Iliescu] At this moment, I think the more difficult mission is that of president of Romania.

[AZI] What is better for you personally?

[Iliescu] For me, the best thing would be to draw my pension. I have already reached retirement age and I would have enjoyed a quieter life.

[AZI] You wanted that?

[Iliescu] I do not know whether I really wanted it. To some extent, yes, because, how shall I say it, there comes a time when it is better to take refuge in the sphere of theoretical reflections and observations about social life. We do not decide our fate alone, however, and somebody had to take up this responsibility. Fate decided that this responsibility—which, as I just said, is not easy at all—should fall upon my shoulders. In moments of crisis, like the one currently experienced by our society, it is a risk to assume political responsibilities, and not everybody wants to take this risk. In other words, seen from this angle, some parties are in a much more comfortable position—I said this before and I repeat it now. They stay in opposition, watch events, make observations, and accumulate political capital at the expense of the power, whose prestige is eroded by the difficult social problems it has to face.

[AZI] Coming back to these dialogues, please tell us whether and how the presidential institution feels the support of the political groups to which you spoke or intend to speak?

[Iliescu] I do not know whether support is the right term; however, one always welcomes the dialogue. First, it is a way to mutually enrich our experience, to promote the necessary cooperation in the social life. The construction of a democratic system implies not only the creation of all conditions for the majority group to be able to fulfill the mandate entrusted to it by the voters—including the exercise of its rightful prerogative to take the necessary decisions—but also ensuring the right to existence, expression, and manifestation of all minorities—be they political, religious, national, and professional—from the entire spectrum of our social and political life, including the political groups. At a political level, the presidential institution has a unique role to play within the framework of state institutions.

At the popular ballot, the electorate has directly pronounced itself on two institutions: the Parliament, which, through its composition, naturally reflects the electorate's structure and, therefore, has a heterogeneous aspect; the second institution is the Presidency, which has a unique structure ensured by one person, who was

elected by a majority of the people; consequently he becomes the representative of national interests. This is the only institution with such a role, namely to ensure the linkage with the legislative power that has emerged as a result of elections and, second, with other structures that are set up by the organs that have emerged in the wake of the elections, namely the executive and judicial power.

[AZI] In the inertia caused by the mechanism of social psychology, the electorate wants to have the Iliescu of the electoral campaign, whom they gave 85 percent of the votes. This is one aspect. On the other hand, the presidential institution obviously has its own protocol requirements, so to say.

How do you consider the distance between these two—shall we call them—visions, which blend into your person and personality?

[Iliescu] This was the subject of an article written by a young journalist in Gorj County; the article was brought to me by the county prefect, who came accompanied by the journalist. The article had a suggestive title: "Mr. President, Give Us Ion Iliescu Back!"—that is, the man of the days after 22 December, who appeared on TV in a plaid shirt...

[AZI] And the man of the electoral campaign.

[Iliescu] ... and the man of the electoral campaign, who had direct contacts with the masses—compared to the stiff president limited by protocol rules and by the knowledge that each of his gestures is subject to interpretation.

Of course, the power has many inherent sins and can bear a negative impact on the individual, risking to take hold of him. I believe that, at my age and given my inner structure, I am no longer subjected to such temptations; likewise, my spiritual format makes me adjust with difficulty to protocol requirements. Of course, I have to meet the requirements imposed by the activity specific to this institution, while also striving to preserve the human features to which the respective journalist referred. This is my wish—namely, within the framework of obligations imposed by the structures and activities specific to this institution, to preserve the soul of the man who exercises them.

[AZI] May I ask you your opinion about the government's activity.

[Iliescu] The government is young. It is made out of a young political group and consists of relatively young people, with individual personal qualities; however, most of them lack the experience of practical leadership and particularly of social and political management, which has its own requirements. Consequently, the government has to learn on the job and practice political leadership while going about its normal duties. I cannot say that the government members are not striving to do this—after all, they are well-meaning people full of energy and the desire to do good. There is no doubt, however that the complex problems they are faced with would give anyone a hard time. There were many blunders in the government's activity, particularly with regard with the resolution of practical problems. I am referring to blending the necessary elaboration of the reform program—and, in this context, the elaboration of the normative acts that must go through Parliament—with the requirements of the Parliament, which, in its own turn, has a certain inertia. The government is in a hurry because it must solve these problems quickly; however, it must wait for this dialogue with Parliament. The government must also solve the concrete problems raised by life, because one still needs the government's intervention to solve the daily problems of the country, economy, and people.

In this respect, much of the grass roots criticism is directed at the government, which is a symptom of the old way of thinking—everybody is used to looking upwards. In the "Mercedes" or "Fiat" companies, nobody calls on the prime minister, not even on the relevant minister, to solve their problems. At Fiat, it would not even cross their minds to ask the Italian Ministry of Industry to solve the company's supply problems. In our country, you could see it for yourself, they went on strike at the Tractorul [The Tractor] enterprise; they demanded that the government solve their problems. They demanded that the government solve their technical-material supplies problems so the plant could function. This is proof of the inertia of these old mentalities, but also proof of the fact that the other mechanisms, which ensure the strict observance of economic contracts, have not yet been created. I mentioned the Fiat company as an example, because, years ago, I happened to visit Fiat, where they let me see an assembly line. I noted that the spare parts delivered by various companies were arriving exactly on time. Even the windshield wipers arrived on schedule. They did not even have an intermediary storage room, because there was a strict contract, which stipulated the date and time when the parts were to be delivered directly to the assembly line. I was slightly baffled and I asked them whether this practice does not cause disruptions at times. They looked at me and asked me: What kind of disruptions? Well, I told them, the suppliers could fail to deliver on time! Do you think they can afford to do such a thing?—they asked me. Well, we do not have this strict observation of contract provisions in Romania. As a matter of fact, many disruptions have occurred because of this lack of contract discipline, technological discipline, and work discipline in units, which is one of our major difficulties....

[AZI] Mr. President, you expressed the intention to meet with Hungary's president. After the publication of a book sponsored by the highest officials in Hungary—which is proof of ill-will, to say the least—do you still want to have this meeting?

[Iliescu] All the more so.

[AZI] A last question, please. What is your opinion about Mr. Brucan's TV interview?

[Iliescu] What the daily "ADEVARUL" said also applies to that interview. Namely, one should show more decency and modesty.

## Roman Discusses Opposition to Reform Process

*AU2109110390 Bucharest TINERETUL LIBER in Romanian 18 Sep 90 pp 1, 2*

["Exclusive" interview with Prime Minister Petre Roman by Stefan Mitroi; place and date not given]

[Text] [Mitroi] Mr. Prime Minister, until 22 December you were an ordinary person, like many of us: with a well-defined private life and probably with a group of friends you occasionally met with. Do you still have friends?

[Roman] Indeed, I do have friends. I do not believe anyone can live without friends. Several people are collectors of various things; in my opinion, a particular hobby is to collect friends. Of course, I have friends from before the revolution, but I have also gained new friends since the revolution. Among them are many of my colleagues in the government.

[Mitroi] Concerning this interview, we confess that we would like to know not only your official side, but also your personal side, as much as possible. I would like to ask you: How does a prime minister spend his free time, if he has any?

[Roman] I do not know how prime ministers in other countries fare. As for me, I have very little free time. Not even on a Saturday or Sunday am I completely free from work and my responsibilities. I had only eight days of vacation. When I manage to leave here, I go to Snagov, for instance, where I invite some friends along—particularly friends who have some connection with my work, who are my colleagues. We use the occasion to further discuss problems which trouble us.

[Mitroi] Do you believe that, after the expiration of the moratorium you proposed, you will you be able to manage on the salary set for you by the Parliament?

[Roman] The problem is far from being that simple. The moratorium would have played a certain part if, in this period, we had managed to start the much-desired economic recovery. Actually, as you can well see, it is necessary to accelerate reform, to achieve more quickly the framework of autonomous functioning of enterprises, which means the real transition to the market economy. In these circumstances, the provisions of Law No. 15—a basic law—clearly show that, under certain conditions, both prices and salaries have been liberalized. The point is that the enterprises should achieve real income on the basis of labor productivity and the quality of products.

[Mitroi] Since you talked about the acceleration of reform and the liberalization of prices, what measures do you expect will defeat the opposition to these endeavors? I am sure that there is very strong opposition at certain levels.

[Roman] There is opposition, it is true. As I have also said, there is a calculated opposition, an opposition motivated by fear. On the other hand, the simple truth is that there is no other road to take. In concrete terms, therefore, this acceleration of the pace of reform should be endorsed by Parliament through the adoption of the laws we propose. These laws provide for a well-measured and very clear pace of development. As I could personally note from my direct contacts with the enterprises—as you know, I have recently been to Brasov—I believe that we have managed, in general terms, to emphasize the need for the fast adoption of a legal framework in this respect. The government, however, is undoubtedly obliged to keep negative phenomena in check and, if possible, even control them. The need to accelerate reform also results from the double contradiction between the current social situation and, in connection with this, the double alternative in the sphere of labor effects. On the one hand, the obvious contradiction is between the normal and justified request that the shops should look better, and the low volume of work accomplished. I do not need to elaborate on this at all. The low level of work is also accompanied by lack of discipline and even by thievery—by theft from the assets of those who are scheduled to become the direct group owners of the enterprises in accordance with Law No. 15. On the other hand, there is a contradiction between the request that the prices on the free market—I am especially referring to agricultural products—should be lower, and the quantity of work invested in these products. As long as the work and creative effort incorporated in industrial products are lower than the work incorporated in agricultural products, we are dealing with a contradiction, which is as indomitable and insoluble as the first one. These contradictions can only be removed through another kind of work ethic. Here the double alternative I mentioned before applies—that is, the alternative of responsible and efficient work, with high incomes, or sloppy and unskilled work, with lower incomes, and even unemployment. It is obvious that the maintenance of a production process with unskilled workers, with people that unsettle its smooth development, is an antisocial act for the enterprise and, in the last instance, for the entire society. The way out of this conflict is the transition to a market economy, which, in spite of its deficiencies or shortcomings, is the only viable kind of economy we know. As you well know, the economy with which we are parting has been, and remains, a disaster. The market economy places the worker before a very clear choice: either he works to the best of his ability and talent, or the respective production process does not take place. This is all very clear and precise.

[Mitroi] Suppose that, after a while, you are no longer prime minister, do you plan to support privatization through personal example or will you return to scientific activities?

[Roman] To tell you frankly, I am not aware that I have given the impression that I would go into business, or that I have a talent for that kind of thing. I believe that I proved to be a good manager before the revolution. Holding the Hydraulics chair [as published], I always ensured, so to say, a good and efficient organization of this educational-research unit. Now, I am sad to say that we are seriously short of enterprising people. There were and there still are some exceptional opportunities for enterprising people. People, however, limited themselves to insignificant things, to striking it rich overnight, and to petty deals without any future. We have very few truly enterprising people capable of taking wide-range initiatives which can lead to very large-scale results. At one point, I thought that I could achieve quite a few important things myself in this respect; however, I cannot physically see myself in business, not even in the sphere of enterprises. Rather, I can see myself involved in political activities, with a return to my work and profession, which has always given me great satisfactions.

[Mitroi] It has been said on various occasions that you are one of the youngest prime ministers in Europe. In light of this fact, we can well imagine that you have a somewhat special relationship with the younger generation. Since you come from a university environment, perhaps you would like to talk about your relations with the students and the possible measures contemplated by the government for changing their social status. I believe that there is room for improvement in this respect, particularly since we need and will always need this distinct social category.

[Roman] I have spoken about the issue of relations with the students on other occasions, as well. On the morning of 15 June, when I went to Bucharest University and was confronted with the open hostility of the students, I was extremely hurt. There is no doubt that the element of dialogue had been lacking, at least on my part. For a long time, I thought that my links with the students, which had been excellent before, had somehow survived; however, the truth lies in the saying "out of sight, out of mind." Of course, this a metaphorical way of putting it, but the truth is that these links should have been kept up—that is, a more direct dialogue, which I intend to resume. I believe that the social status of Romania's students has grown quite a bit. The students are part of this nation's conscience, a healthy and extremely necessary part of it in the current Romanian social context. I cannot imagine that this situation will not improve, because the current state of affairs seems quite unnatural to me—I only have to think of the projects I and my students did together, against the reservations expressed by part of the academic staff. I had relations of direct cooperation with the students on the scientific plane, and I believe that I was one of the few professors who copublished works in the academy magazines, adding my signature to theirs.

[Mitroi] Well, one might say that, as far as you are concerned, that was a kind of first love.

[Roman] Yes, it is a sort of first love; one which never dies, because I was a teacher even when I was doing my doctorate. I also knew the French students, who, basically, are no different from Romanian students; I also had extremely close relations with them there [in France]. This, therefore, is a kind of continuity which one cannot possibly give up.

[Mitroi] Mr. Prime Minister, nine months ago, when you took up this position—of course, in the old governmental formula—you were a man—I dare say it, since others have also said it—lacking political and organizational experience. How did you compensate for this deficiency, how did you make up for it?

[Roman] Yes, people talk a lot about this issue. Sometimes the discussion is phrased in very exclusive terms, like those employed by Mr. Brucan, who spoke with much emphasis and arrogance, but—and here comes the surprise—with much too little intelligence—particularly since he considers himself a kind of superstar of the Romanian intelligentsia. In reality, I believe that things can also be described correctly and exactly as follows: First, of course I did not have any political experience, but I probably had a political sense. I say this because we have the moment of 22 December, when I said a few words from the balcony of the former Central Committee headquarters, words which seem to have been quite useful. Second, I went through extremely intensive activity in the hot days of the revolution which—for better or for worse—should not be disparagingly disissed, particularly because, as a result of this activity, people thought that I should be appointed prime minister. So, even if I lacked the political experience, I suspect that I had some political sense. The question of organizational experience as such is an important thing, but the lack of experience looks more like the Stalinist-communist claims that there are only certain chosen people, who must pass through several stages to reach that level of organizational ability, something which requires a sifting of cadres, and so forth.

This is a very dangerous thing. I would rather state the opposite: If I had had the organizational experience of the communist system—the totalitarian Stalinist type—this would not have been a quality, but rather a handicap. Who has experience in the transition or in being in charge of the transition from a Stalinist-communist society to a market economy? Do you know anyone with such experience? Even the countries which have embarked upon this road of transition earlier have very modest experience in this respect. Consequently, we must rely strongly on scientific precision, so to say. This is what we lack.

[Mitroi] Mr. Prime Minister, please tell us about Romania's international situation. How do you assess its isolation? What measures does the government plan to take to ensure the correct presentation of Romanian realities abroad?

[Roman] It is obvious that Romania has suffered, and is still suffering, from a certain isolation. Unfortunately, some people are even making efforts to isolate it. There are many foreign elements which contribute to this situation and it is not easy to identify them all. We waged a constant struggle to explain ourselves and to overcome difficult moments, such as those in mid-June, which were brutally exploited by that part of the public opinion and mass information media which were not prepared to put their seal of approval on our democratic option. We often used what we thought to be a weapon—namely, complete sincerity and openness. I would like to tell you that a friend of ours, who is a well known political personality, told us this: "What you are not aware of"—he was talking about the current leadership; that is, Mr. Iliescu and myself—"is that, in international political life, no one really believes you are sincere and truly open, because this is how things generally stand in politics. One always proceeds on the basis of 50 percent truth and 50 percent lies." We, on the other hand, did not practice this system of making politics. We should have used the mass media much more consistently and, if you like, better—or at least more intelligently. Instead of allowing them to manipulate the information, however, we should have tried to provide them with material so that, through repetition, the truth might have come out better. Today I had a very concrete example of this—in connection with Romania's image—namely, half-truths and various ways to distort information. A few days ago, the largest FRG magazine, DER SPIEGEL, carried an interview with me. The interview was fairly correct. My discussion with two DER SPIEGEL journalists, which lasted almost two hours, was rendered in one page, one-and-a-half pages, or maybe two pages. Before publishing the interview, they faxed it to me to check what would be published. Then I learned of a commentary of the DEUTSCHE WELLE radio station, which talks about certain contradictions in my interview, rather than commenting on a typical example of half-truths and distorted information and, unfortunately, even falsification being published. If you allow me, I will give you some examples. In that interview, while talking about the breaking off from communism, I said that the communist structures had disappeared from the party and I gave the journalists an explanation. This explanation never appeared in that paper; DER SPIEGEL probably condensed the material, but that does not represent an error. The way, however, in which DEUTSCHE WELLE provides half-truths and makes interpretations is really inadmissible, because they just announce that "on 22 December, all communist structures were eliminated throughout the country." Now I would like to make some remarks, which show that such a thing is not possible. I stated that the party structures had disappeared and you know just as well as I do that, on 22 December, the party committees, the sector committees and others disappeared. Is there anyone then who could state that he belongs to the Communist Party structure itself? Certainly, there are a number of people left who were linked with the former system and they have continued to hold positions in the state apparatus; however the party structure no loner exists. Can you now see how providing half-truths and distorted information leave room for a commentary which is extremely harmful. Furthermore, speaking talking about the arrival of the miners, I stated that the fact that on 14 June the police took Marian Munteanu saved him in a way, because he was attacked by miners; you know the issue well. Now let us see what the above mentioned radio station says. Although DER SPIEGEL correctly published what happened, this radio station says that Marian Munteanu was arrested a few days after the miners' withdrawal. This is a lie. Why? Because it directly involves the responsibility of the police and the government. Just like the other statement—namely, that he was lying seriously wounded in hospital.

You know very well that in this respect, the press—especially the foreign press—exaggerated a little. It is true that he was hit; however, he was not lying in the hospital seriously wounded, as was reported. I was also asked whether I am still a Marxist. My answer was exactly the following—the one that was published by DER SPIEGEL as well: in January I said that I did not know whether I still was a Marxist; however, I did not think that I was. Later, for example in July, when I was asked the same question, I again said I was not a Marxist; and I am not, primarily because the Marxist ideology proved to be a mistake in connection with the Romanian revolution and the subsequent development of Romanian society. What does the commentary say? That the answer I gave then would be the one I have given now. At the beginning of the year, I said that I did not know whether I was; now I think I am not a Marxist any longer. Thus, it takes my answer given in January and places it to the present. Here are some examples about how—unfortunately—information can be manipulated. It is true that the examples refer to me, but what happens with me often happens with Romania in the eyes of the foreign public opinion. This fact has given us a lot of trouble, it forced us into an extraordinary struggle, and has consumed our physical and nervous potential, which, believe me, could have been used better to solve some domestic problems. It is certain that now, this very moment, things are becoming more open. There is much more favorable public opinion at the level of international bodies about Romania. Even if there continues to be suspicion and questions arise, generally speaking, things are developing positively.

[Mitroi] A last question—but somehow a short question—which is, in a way, parenthetical, however importantly so. Last night, during one of our television programs we were told that Romanian tourists are very badly received in Bulgaria, even attacked, beaten up, and molested....

[Roman] I know, and we should and will take exemplary measures. We are dealing with a very strange phenomenon. Maybe I should even use tougher terms. They have succeeded in implanting there the idea that the pollution of the town of Ruse is disastrous and, at the same time, it is the result of the activity of the Chemical Combine in Giurgiu. Which is partially true. This phenomenon of the unjustified and unsubstantiated amplification of this idea has, as a matter of fact, a political nature. It is not only that it harms Romania's image, but is also creates political pressure in Bulgaria. As you know, a mixed commission of experts was set up and its members visited the Chemical Combine in Giurgiu on the spot, and visited the town of Ruse. I want to tell you that there are many sources of chemical pollution in Ruse which have not been eliminated by the Bulgarian side, although it pledged to do so. Serious measures, however, to halt the source of pollution have been taken in our combine. We agreed to the fact that international experts can be called in and they can also state their point of view. We are not afraid of anything like this. The Bulgarian side should be more concerned about what could be discovered in Ruse. There is another very sensitive problem, the problem of the nuclear power plant in Kozloduy which was built according to the Chernobyl- type nuclear plants, that is without a protection cap. This subject should be discussed by the international forums and the Bulgarian premier agreed to it because he is well aware of the problem. However, as far as the situation of the Romanian citizens in Bulgaria is concerned, it is obvious that mutual actions are the only alternative.

[Mitroi] Mister Prime Minister, it seems that you have become one of the most active Romanian diplomats of our times. How do you view the effectiveness of the meetings that you have held with your counterparts in many European countries?

[Roman] No doubt that effectiveness is something that one has to build and as far as the diplomatic area is concerned, one needs much patience and sometimes very small, unnoticed steps to achieve long-term effectiveness. I believe that the meetings I have held were at least useful, if not for any other reason than for the fact that we got to know each other. We had the opportunity to make direct contact and directly clarify certain issues. When issues of cooperation, collaboration, and joint action appear on both sides, there is already an inclination in favor of such actions, because we know each other, because—let us say—we felt mutual sympathy for each other, and because we have a mutually favorable attitude. These are very important facts and everybody knows that diplomatic activity involves personal contacts and personal presence; I believe that we should amplify these contacts. I am not talking about myself only, but rather about a whole government team and in general, Romanians and the Romanian personalities at home and those from abroad should act much more dynamically and should be much more present in diplomacy and in the structures that make up the world political life.

[Mitroi] Mr. Prime Minister, suppose that this discussion did not take place in the Romanian language, what would be the other language preferred by you?

[Roman] French, Spanish, English, Italian, or Russian.

[Mitroi] Thank you very much and I wish you much good health.

[Roman] Thank you.

### Anniversary of December Revolution Commemorated

*AU2209173690 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1548 GMT 22 Sep 90*

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 22/9/1990—The revolution's heroes were commemorated throughout the country today. In Bucharest since the early morning hours people have been paying a silent tribute to the martyrs fallen in December 1989 in the city's Revolution Square, University Square, Romana Square, outside the Television building where candles were lit and flowers were placed on makeshift altars.

At noon when all churches, monasteries and abbeys under the jurisdiction of the Romanian Patriarchy sounded their bells prayers were said and religuous services were held in memory of the Romanian people's freedom heroes.

Apart from the service at the Patriarchate Cathedral, religious services were held at the main places in Bucharest where people died in winter so that we may be free.

At the Revolution's Heroes Cemetery in Bucharest wreaths were laid on behalf of the President of Romania, of the Senate and of the Assembly of Deputies, of the Government, of political parties as a military guard stood to attention to the tune of the heroes' march.

At the crucifix in University Square a number of citizens interfered with the wreath-laying ceremony arguing that the commemoration should have taken place yesterday, on 21 September.

### FSN Protests Incidents at Ceremony

*AU2209173790 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1638 GMT 22 Sep 90*

["Political Life: National Salvation Front's Protest"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 22/09/1990—The Steering Board of the National Salvation Front [FSN] issued a protest which it sent to ROMPRES for dissemination:

Today 22 September 1990, when nine months have passed since the revolution we mourned the death of the Romanian nation's heroes. Wreaths were laid on behalf of the National Salvation Front at the crucifixes outside

the television, in Romana Square, at the Heroes Cemetery and in University Square. In the first three places the remembrance service proceeded without incident. Unfortunately, the ceremony in University Square at noon was marred by a group of about forty people who tore out the wreath.

Anti-presidential, anti-government and anti-FSN slogans were chanted. The leader of the group was Mr. Octavian Radulescu, himself an aggressor and instigator to aggression.

We express our bewilderment at the indifference shown by the order-keeping forces in that area since, in our opinion, they could have ensured the conditions for the commemoration that we, like true Romanians, also observed along with the people of Bucharest.

In consideration of those facts, we lodge our strong protest and ask the relevant bodies to take action in agreement with the laws of the country.

### Finance Minister Opposes Excessive Subsidies

*AU2109180790 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1713 GMT 21 Sep 90*

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 21/9/1990—"It is against common sense that so many enterprises and institutions should be working on subsidies, as our case is at the moment, that all theatres, for instance, should be financed from the national budget" says the Romanian Finance Minister Mr. Theodor Stolojan in a statement for "TINERETUL LIBER" daily newspaper. And supplies the argument: "nowhere in the world can one see such practice."

"Within the next year, we intend to rethink the whole policy of budget subsidising and thereby shape our new state budget revenue policy," said the Romanian minister.

"At present, he pointed out, the economic reform is in full progress and lies at the core of our ministry's activities, because the whole package of programmes and bills supposed to have been submitted to Parliament in the time span of two years, must be forwarded to parliament this very year, so that all economic units, irrespective of ownership, should be subject to a coherent fiscal system, with effect from 1 January, 1991.

### Appeal Brought Against Nicu Ceausescu's Sentence

*AU2109175690 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1719 GMT 21 Sep 90*

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 21/9/1990—The Bucharest Military Tribunal passed Friday, 21 September, the sentence in the case brought against Nicu Ceausescu, ex-party boss in Sibiu County, on charges of instigation to aggravated murder in a shift from previous genocide charges. The tribunal sentenced him to a 20-year prison term, ten-year deprivation of certain civil rights and stripped him of his military rank. The defendant was also passed a five-year prison term and four year deprivation of certain civil rights for failure to observe the arms and ammunition regulations. He will serve the longest term.

An appeal was lodged in the presence of the defendant.

In a statement to journalists, Mrs. Paula Iacob, the defendant's defence counsel, said, in her opinion, he was not guilty, all the evidence brought before the court, with the exception of colonel Dragomir's testimony, leads to one conclusion: My client did not order the shooting. Although he said "we are in a state of war" he did not order the shooting. The appeal will prove this and, implicitly, his innocence.

### Trial of Former Trade Union Chief Held 21 Sep

*AU2209155890 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1028 GMT 22 Sep 90*

["Justice: Trial Against Key Communists"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 22/9/1990—The trial continues in Bucharest against the former members of the Executive Political Committee of the Central Committee [CC] of the Romanian Communist Party [RCP], who are charged with genocide.

During its September 21 session the court heard defendant Miu Dobrescu, chairman of the General Trade Union Confederation of Romania until December 22, 1989.

The defendant is accused of having tacitly agreed to the orders to shoot at the demonstrators issued during a meeting of the Executive Political Committee held on December 17, 1989. The indictment also shows that on December 17, 1989 he was ordered by Emil Bobu to travel to the counties of Mures and Harghita and take steps, together with local authorities, to prevent the outbreak of the revolution there. Over December 18-22, 1989, he was in Tirgu Mures where, together with the former first secretary of Mures County Committee of the RCP, Viorel Igret, and the former instructor of the CC of the RCP, Ioan Carbunaru, he visited economic units ordering the creation of "self-defense" teams. On December 21 the revolution broke out in that town, too, with crowds gathering in front of the headquarters of the former Mures County Party Committee, inside which Miu Dobrescu was at that time.

Under those circumstances, demonstrators were arrested, water sprays were used against them and so were fire arms. Consequently, several people were killed. The indictment shows that, although not directly involved in the repression of the revolution, the defendant is guilty of not having prevented it.

During a four-hour examination, Miu Dobrescu denied all the charges brought against him.

As for his participation in the December 17 meeting of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP he said the thesis on agreement to the repressive steps ordered by Nicolae Ceausescu against the revolution in Timisoara was not acceptable as neither he nor the other members of the Executive Political Committee knew of the true course of events in that town, events which the former dictator described as acts of hooliganism plotted by hostile factors from outside the country and aimed at violating Romania's independence and integrity.

On the second count he said the aim of his travel to Tirgu Mures and his activity there would prove to be different and in no way linked to the repression of the demonstration.

I realized something had happened in Romania, Miu Dobrescu said, only on December 22 when the television broadcast the news of the dictators' escape.

Hearings of defendants Nicolae Constantin and Constantin Olteanu will be rescheduled.

The court adjourned until December 24, at 9:30 local time, when Gheorghe Oprea and Gheorghe Pana are examined.

## Further Reportage on Constanta Port Strike

### More on Strike, Negotiations

*AU2109191590 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1749 GMT 21 Sep 90*

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 21/9/1990—The expert commission of the Ministry of Transport, Public Works and Physical Planning had talks today with the Constanta Port Trade Union Association.

The association have made it clear that they accept to negotiate with no other than the representatives of all ministries involved in port activities or a fully authorised government envoy.

### Anti-Totalitarian Forum Meets

*AU2209160090 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1051 GMT 22 Sep 90*

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 22/9/1990—A meeting of solidarity with the Romanians across the Prut was held in Constanta on Friday (21 September]. The meeting was sponsored by the Anti-Totalitarian Democratic Forum, which includes the county branches of the Christian and Democratic National Peasant Party, the National Liberal Party, the Social Democratic Party, the Ecological Movement of Romania and the Association of Former Political Detainees.

The speakers stated for the solidarity of the people of Constanta and of all Romanians with the ideals and just fight in defense of the sovereignty and integrity of the Moldavian SSR, against the maneuvers aimed at the territorial dissolution of Moldavia and against the illegal statements of independence of the so-called Gagauz and Dnister Republics. The participants in the meeting adopted the text of a motion to President Mikhail Gorbachev, the Supreme Soviet, the Soviet Government and the People's Front of Moldavia, which will be handed over to the consul general of the USSR in Constanta.

The second part of the meeting was devoted to an exposition called "The Position of the Anti-Totalitarian Democratic Forum on the Complex Problems Facing the Country and the County of Constanta." The speakers enlarged upon political problems and socioeconomic difficulties in the same-name town and county. Danu Culet, representative of the National Liberal Party, called attention to the maintenance of old structures, the lack of competence on the part of people appointed to mayor's offices, the food, consumer goods and housing shortages, the delay in building a university campus, and the need for a local television station. Anti-communist and anti-government slogans were chanted.

### Strike Continues 22 Sep

*AU2209173890 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1552 GMT 22 Sep 90*

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 22/9/1990—Constanta's Chimpex Free Union issued a statement which shows that "delivery and auxiliary workers, attendants and storehouse workers are not on strike."

On the other hand, the Petromar Sailors' Free Union of Constanta announced "its solidarity with the strike of Constanta Port workers until all claims are met".

### Ratiu, Constanta Companies' Members Meet

*AU2209181490 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1704 GMT 22 Sep 90*

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 22/9/1990—A round of talks was held at Constanta between Ion Ratiu, member of the Chamber of Deputies, and representatives of the Administrative Councils of the Navrom, Romline and Petromin Shipping Companies. The strike is abnormal, said Ion Ratiu after the talks, but added that some of the claims were justified. The unions' claims are partly unrealistic, he said, "yet they would be ready to react reasonably should specific proposals be made, because disagreement is reducible to a few points".

Next, Ion Ratiu along with Ion Georgescu (National Salvation Front deputy) and Radu Rosculet (National Liberal Party) appointed by parliament to talk with the strikers met with union representatives.

A union-administrative councils dialogue was proposed and accepted .

### Transport Ministry, Strikers Meet

*AU2309155590 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1423 GMT 23 Sep 90*

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 23/9/1990—The dialogue between the representatives of the Free Union of Seamen, the Council of Trade Unions in Constanta Port and the Minister of Public Works, Transport and Physical Planning, Doru Pana, started on September 23 at noon, at the Ministry's Headquarters.

Attending are representatives of other ministries, Deputies Ion Ratiu (National Peasant Party), Radu Rosculet (National Liberal Party) and Ion Georgescu—National Salvation Front.

The relevant minister presented the difficult situation generated in the national economy by the strike started in Constanta by the two unions. Last week alone, the daily payments amounted to 150,000 dollars demurrage, four million lei hiring, as thousands of tons of raw and auxiliary materials, food and general goods are stuck in the port.

It was emphasized that the seamen were given more rights, but part of the rights were not applied and other ones were not up to the claims. Central to the negotiations was the request that the current managers of the fleet and of the port, whom the union leaders accused of lack of efficiency and credibility, be dismissed. The negotiations are on.

### Ministry Upset With Council of Europe's Stand

*AU2209181590 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1657 GMT 22 Sep 90*

["Foreign Ministry Statement" —ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 22/9/1990—The Foreign Affairs Ministry, in a statement for the press sent to ROMPRES, makes a few points on Mr. Petre Baum's assertions in his commentary on Radio Deutsche Welle on 20 September:

It appears that the author of the commentary on Radio Deutsche Welle refers to a colloquium on "Europe: the Roads to Democracy. The Council of Europe in European Architecture" organized by the Council of Europe in Strasbourg on 17 and 18 September 1990.

We fully agree with the commentary which terms as "regrettable" the absence of Romanian officials at that colloquium. However, the author of the commentary leaves the impression that the Romanian Government would have been unwilling to send its representatives there.

In reality, the organizers invited just two personalities from Romania: Mrs. Doina Cornea and Mr. Stelian Tanase.

The Romanian Government only learnt about that colloquium on 5 September when Romania's charge d'affaires ad-interim in Paris got an invitation to attend.

The organizers, notwithstanding the Romanian Government' insistence, refused to send out invitations to other Romanian experts who could have made outstanding contributions to the discussions on the theme of the colloquium.

We are sorry that only people who contest the legitimacy of state power were invited from Romania.

Since from other states, including from our area, officials (ministers, parliamentarians) were invited as well as acknowledged specialists in the questions that are the theme of the colloquium, we cannot understand why no specialists were invited from Romania to give competent ideas and opinions on the important theme of the colloquium.

Certainly, we in the Foreign Ministry respect the two personalities from Romania who were invited to attend. Yet, how can participants in the colloquium get a fair image of the processes in Romania if the information they supply is one sided? The answer is obvious: a one-sided participation can only provide one-sided information, which is counterproductive for a discussion forum like the Council of Europe.

Of course this "incident" will not influence our wish to join the Council of Europe which we continue to see as a prestigious international organization that promotes democracy and human rights. We hope that all who have something to say about that wish will make up their minds to take an unbiased look at Romanian reality today, to see it as it is in all its complexity, and to effectively support the democratic process in Romania.

### Iliescu Receives British Ambassador 22 Sep

*AU2209155990 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1326 GMT 22 Sep 90*

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 22/9/1990—Mr. Ion Iliescu, president of Romania, was conveyed words of appreciation from London for Romania's position on the Gulf crisis, which fully accords with the British Government's. The message was conveyed on Saturday when Mr. Ion Iliescu received Mr. Michael W. Atkinson, ambassador of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, at the Cotroceni Palace.

During the interview, a friendly talk was conducted on problems related to the course of bilateral relations. Aspects were also approached of the political and economic situation in this country, and so were the problems facing the Romanian Government in the process of democratizing society and achieving a? economic reform.

In his turn, President Iliescu thanked for the goodwill shown by Great Britain upon the adoption of the

common market's resolution on the signing of an economic and commercial accord with Romania.

### Senate President Receives Several Envoys

*AU2209173990 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1551 GMT 22 Sep 90*

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 22/9/1990—The president of the Senate, Alexandru Barladeanu, received successively, Saturday, the ambassadors of the People's Republic of China Wang Jinging, the Federal Republic of Nigeria E. Ola Taiwo [spelling as received], and the Arab Republic of Egypt Ihab Wahbah, on presentation calls.

### Bariadeanu Greets Newly Appointed French Envoy

*AU2109191490 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1750 GMT 21 Sep 90*

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 21/9/1990—On Friday, September 20, in the morning, Alexandru Barladeanu, Romania's Senate president, received Renauld Vidal [name as received], France's newly accredited ambassador in Bucharest on an introduction visit. The interview was held in a warm, friendly atmosphere.

On the occasion, the issue was approached of a Romanian delegation's participation in the meeting of the Council of Europe, to take place in Strasbourg soon, and of the delegation's likely visit to Paris.

### Nastase Leaves for Spain To Attend Meeting

*AU2309155690 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1421 GMT 23 Sep 90*

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 23/9/1990—Romanian Foreign Minister Adrian Nastase left Bucharest on Sunday noon for Palma de Mallorca, to attend a CSCE meeting on the Mediterranean due on September 24-October 19. The Romanian delegation will present at the meeting the country's standpoint on the creation of a Mediterranean Forum on Security and Cooperation, as well as the standpoint on the Balkan-Mediterranean Space of Cultural Continuity and Cross Currents. It will advance proposals of activities in line with the efforts to have closer relations between the South-Eastern part of the continent and the Mediterranean, said the minister before leaving, also mentioning:

Since September 25 I will be present in New York, to attend the ministerial meeting of the UN Security Council, and then I will participate in the 45th session of the UN General Assembly as well as in the children's summit held under UNICEF aegis [sentence as received].

### Kosovo Delegates Flee to Turkey, Slovenia, Croatia

*AU2109173390 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 19 Sep 90 p 9*

["Z.Z."-signed report: "Chairman Ilaz Ramajli Escapes to Turkey"]

[Text] Pristina, 18 Sep— The investigating judge of Pristina District Court yesterday heard the cases of six delegates who attended the Albanian separatists' "inaugural constitutional assembly" in Kacanik. Searches are being conducted for the other participants, but there are signs that many of them have escaped abroad.

It is reported that the presiding delegate of the "Kacanik assembly," Ilaz Ramajli, a former official in Kosovo-Metohija, absconded to Turkey immediately after the official proclamation of the "constitution" and the "republic of Kosovo." A number of separatists have left for Slovenia and Croatia, where they have no doubt found a safe refuge, when one considers that the authorities in these republics support them.

Some of the delegates of the dissolved assermbly have also found refuge abroad, including Bujar Gjurgjeala, the self-appointed chairman on the Pristina street when the "Constitutional Declaration" was issued.

The escaped delegates will most probably form a "Kosovo government" abroad, which will be one more separatist ruse. It is nevertheless impossible to understand why the delegates have left Kosovo-Metohija and the country, because everything was "legal" in the eyes of the separatist alternative. By leaving their own "Republic of Kosovo," they have simply left their own people in the lurch.

### 6 Ex-Officials, Media Head Detained

*LD2109180790 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1630 GMT 21 Sep 90*

[Text] Pristina, 21 Sept (TANJUG)—The premier and five former members of the government of the Yugoslav Province of Kosovo, as well as the former Kosovo radio-television director, all ethnic Abanians, have been taken into detention and an investigation has been launched against them, the district court in provincial capital Pristina today announced.

They are suspected of forming a group with the aim of changing, through anti-constitutional means, the borders of the Republic of Serbia and proclaiming the Automous Province of Kosovo a republic.

An investigation has been launched against former provincial premier, Jusuf Zejnulahu, and five members of the Kosovo Government, Seljadin Skej, Muhamet Bicaj, Jusuf Karakusi, Lek Vuksani and Isa Mutafa, as well as former Pristina radio-television director Agim Malja.

The court statement sets out that members of the group, formed last July, held several secret meetings in Pristina, as well as other places in Yugoslavia. They thwarted the implementation of the decisions and measures of the state organs of the Republic of Serbia for stabilizing the situation in Kosovo. They recently made possible the writing up of an illegal "constitution" and the anti-constitutional act of proclaiming Kosovo Province a republic.

The court statement sets out that the group asked for and received support for this in some other Yugoslav republics and from individuals in organs of the Yugoslav federation.

### Appeal Issued to European Parliament

*AU2309192790 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 20 Sep 90 p 3*

[M. Antic report: "Mudslinging in the Same Old Way"]

[Text] Pristina—A group of seven leaders of the most influential political parties among the Kosovo Albanians yesterday sent a letter to the European Parliament at Strasbourg "requesting it to take the Kosovo Assembly delegates under its protection." Expressing the hope that "they will do everything in their power," the letter asks the European parliamentarians "to pass on this letter to all the parliaments and governments of the European community."

Besides the fact that they have long bypassed Serbia, which they do not recognize as their state, they show in this letter that they no longer recognize even Yugoslavia, and still less, for instance, the stands adopted by the Federal Executive Council [FEC] and several other federal organs.

In this and many previous letters, as well as in direct contacts with many delegations, they clearly wish to show and prove that Kosovo and the Albanians are occupied by Serbia and Yugoslavia. By doing this, they wish to forget that both Europe and the world recognize and accept only Yugoslavia with its present borders, as is recognized by law in the documents of these international organizations.

The letter is signed by Dr. Ibrahim Rugova for the Kosovo Democratic Alliance; Dr. Hivzi Islami for the Kosovo Peasants Party; Shkelzen Maliqi for the Kosovo Social Democratic Party; Ylber Hisaj for the Youth Parliament; Veton Surroi for the Pristina Branch of the Association for a Yugoslav Democratic Initiative; Zenun Celaj for the Pristina Council for the Protection of Human Rights; and Agim Hyseni for the Kosovo Association of Independent Trade Unions.

Each item and clause in this letter would deserve special commentary, because to say the least they portray the situation in a one-sided and tendentious way. It is another question when they belittle Serbia and Yugoslavia, attack FEC President Ante Markovic without a shred of evidence, and manipulate the SFRY Presidency. These are the stale methods of those who have for

a long time, as today, been trying to conceal their separatist goals under the cloak of a struggle for human rights.

An investigation is now being carried out under the valid laws of Yugoslavia, as would take place in any rule-of-law state, of all those who adopted an anticonstitutional "constitution" and thereby threatened the country's sovereignty and integrity; they call this, too, "state terror" and a "violation" of the Albanians' human rights. Besides, it is evident from the letter itself that they long for someone else to regulate the situation in Yugoslavia, and not in Yugoslavia alone.

### Rugova Criticizes Federal Stance on Constitution

*LD2109145990 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1221 GMT 21 Sep 90*

[Text] Pristina, 21 Sep (TANJUG)—Ibrahim Rugova, leader of the Kosovo Democratic Alliance (DSK), said at today's press conference—in connection with the SFRY Presidency and the Federal Executive Council assessments of the illegal adoption of the constitution of the so-called "Kosovo republic"—that "this is not the way to prepare for democratic wrok in Kosovo or to become part of Europe."

By calling delegates of the Kosovo Assembly "a secret group of citizens" the presidency and the Yugoslav Government in some way enabled a campaign against Albanians, Rugova thinks. He also said that "everything is being done in order to exclude Albanians in Kosovo from agreement-seeking about a federation or a confederation, that is, about the country's future. "It can now be seen, concluded Rugova, that it is not just a question of the Serbian authorities, but—as far as Kosovo is concerned—that it all functions with the blessing of the federal authorities."

In Rugova's words the information about an alleged armed uprising in Kosovo with alleged help from the United States and other foreign forces is ridiculous and similar to Lazar Mojsov's claims at the time about the existence of "some kind of a Kosovo Headquarters." Rugova described this as "mere bolshevist demagogy" which "seeks demons" in order to justify its own attitude to Albanians.

The DSK leader claims that no demand from the Federal Secretariat for Justice has reached their party premises and, therefore, "he does not wish to make any public statement at the moment" regarding the referendum in connection with support for the illegal "constitution and republic". On Kambovski's demand that the party's presidium should make a decision about its leader's speech and his public support for the constitution of the Kosovo republic," rugova said "Albanians are always asked to do something extra."

Femi Agani thinks, however, that the main cause of "threats" to ban the DSK is the fact that the DSK, in his opinion, defeated the Serbian Socialist Party (SPS) in this province. Agani also thinks that "political movement in Kosovo has all the characteristics of a national liberation movement", but he was, however, prevented from explaining this assumption in more detail when Rugova said that the "DSK is indeed a political party."

Asked by journalists what his reaction would be if the party is banned, Rugova said that he would continue with the activity but not underground because the DSK, as he has become aware, enjoys public authority both at home and abroad.

Rugova expressed concern because "everything is being done to remove democracy from Yugoslav soil" and said that Slovenia and Croatia "should not be too surprised if the same thing happens to them".

Rugova also reiterated all the previous demands, adding another one—the release of former delegates from detention. In his words, they did not commit any criminal offence but they "expressed the will of the people and behaved in accordance with their conscience—not using force—when they adopted the constitution of the Kosovo republic."

### Kosovo Democratic Alliance Faces Probable Ban

*AU2309200890 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 19 Sep 90 p 9*

[Unattributed report: "Ban For the Democratic Alliance of Kosovo?"]

[Text] The recently registered Albanian alternative party, the Democratic Alliance of Kosovo, will probably be banned. Svetozar Zecar, deputy federal secretary for justice, replying to numerous objections of the delegates of the Committee for Internal Policy of the Federal Chamber, said that in view the information gathered by the Secretariat for Justice, this course of action will be necessary. This means that the involvement of this party in the latest events, according to the findings of Federal Secretariat for Justice, was directed against the integrity of the country and its survival. This is why the ban will probably be issued.

Zecar, however, rejected delegates' objections that this alliance should not have been registered He justified this with the view that it is not possible to prohibit the work of those who are starting to operate legally and whose documents, which were submitted in an orderly fashion, do not in any way mention attacks on the integrity on the country.

### Prince-In-Exile Rejects Serbian Election Bid

*AU2309192390 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0800 GMT 23 Sep 90*

[Report on interview with Tomislav Karadjordjevic, younger son of Yugoslavia's late king Alexander, with an unidentified reporter of the "Sunday at 10" program; place and date not given—recorded]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] Perhaps the main reason for political disputes in Serbia is the proposal that Prince Tomislav Karadjordjevic be nominated as a candidate of the Democratic Party in presidential elections.

Here is what Tomislav Karadjordjevic stated for this program: [Begin Karadjordjevic recording] I do not interfere in political problems, but must, as a member of the Karadjordjevic family, know what these problems are. At the same time we Karadjordjevices must be, above all, political parties.

I do not belong to any political party, in Serbia or Yugoslavia, or outside Yugoslavia. I am above this; therefore, if the people in Yugoslavia decide to reinstate the monarchy, there will be more democracy in both Yugoslavia and Serbia.

[Reporter] Does this specifically mean that you have rejected the proposal of the Democratic Party to run as a candidate in the presidential elections.

[Karadjordjevic] Of course, because otherwise I would appear to be for one political party, to favor one political party. I cannot do that. Even if the opposition were united I would not accept this.

[Reporter] So, you would not even agree to be a candidate of the united opposition.

[Karadjordjevic] [Words indistinct] even if the authority asked me to do that I would not accept it.

[Reporter] So, in any case you are refusing to run as a candidate for the president.

[Karadjordjevic] Absolutely. [passage omitted]

### Serbian Renewal Movement Members Hold Protest

*AU2409122890 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1200 GMT 24 Sep 90*

[Text] Members of the Serbian Renewal Movement gathered at noon [1000 GMT] in the park opposite the Serbian Presidency building to protest the ban on the party's newspaper, SRPSKA REC, as well as the incident which took place in Cajetina two days ago, when members of this party were, as they say, mistreated for no reason.

According to the leader of the Serbian Renewal Movement, Vuk Draskovic, the demonstrators will not disperse until Radmilo Bogdanovic, Serbian secretary for internal affairs, and heads of the Secretariat for Internal Affairs in Uzice and Cajetina have tendered their resignations and until the ban on SRPSKA REC is lifted.

The demonstrators have been frequently shouting abusive slogans against Tito, the Communists, and Slobodan Milosevic, who they are calling upon to address the crowd.

### Serbian Secretariat Details 23 Sep Pec Incident

*LD2409115190 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1111 GMT 24 Sep 90*

[Text] Pristina, 24 Sep (TANJUG)—Police in the Yugoslav province of Kosovo, in the town of Pec, yesterday in self-defence wounded three ethnic Albanians, according to a report of the Interior Secretariat of Serbia, the republic of which Kosovo is a part.

The policemen, as reported, yesterday stopped a wedding party of ethnic Albanians which, on its way through the center of Pec, shot in the air from fire weapons, thus disturbing public law and order. The group of ethnic Albanians immediately stoned and physically assaulted the policemen. One of the ethnic Albanians took an automatic rifle from a policeman and opened fire on the patrol. One of the policemen then returned fire, in self-defence, wounding three of the attackers, the statement sets out.

Another 16 ethnic Albanians were arrested, suspected of taking part in the attack of the policemen.

### Serb Executive Council Backs Draft Constitution

*LD2109172190 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1112 GMT 21 Sep 90*

[Text] Belgrade, 21 Sep (TANJUG)—The Executive Council of the Serbian Assembly today supported the draft of the new republican Constitution. It was said that it opens up a new democratic era in the republic and establishes a modern rule-of-law state of all its citizens. The council also established a draft law on constituencies. According to this draft law, 250 constituencies will be formed, and in each, one deputy will be elected by an electorate of 26,527.

### Slovene Party Criticizes Kosovar 'Persecution'

*LD2109221290 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1351 GMT 21 Sep 90*

[Excerpts] Ljubljana, 21 Sep (TANJUG)—"The Serbian authorities in Kosovo are continuing with their persecution, torture, and imprisonment of the Albanian population," the Socialist Party of Slovenia [Socijalisticka Partija Slovenije—SPA] assesses. A statement from this party says further that statements by Ante Markovic, president of the Federal Executive Council, and Borisav Jovic, president of the SFRY Presidency, in connection with the adopted Constitution of the Republic of Kosovo demonstrate the kind of principle at work in both institutions; this is the principle of the rejection of different views and the implementation of policy to the benefit of the militant Serbian authorities." [quotation mark as received] [passage omitted]

The socialists call on the Presidency of the Assembly of the Republic of Slovenia to invite the legally and legitimaely elected representatives of the Kosovo Assembly to visit Slovenia.

## Drnovsek Complains to Presidency Over Serbia

*LD2209214990 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1923 GMT 22 Sep 90*

[Text] Belgrade, 22 Sep (TANJUG)—Member of the Yugoslav State Presidency Dr Janez Drnovsek has notified the members of the State Presidency that he would "no longer take part in the work of the sessions at which the Presidency extends formal coverage for the consequences of the policy pursued by someone else, or the policy pursued by the republic of Serbia in the province of Kosovo.

The Belgrade daily BORBA quotes Dr Drnovsek as noting that views were different at the Thursday [20 September] session of the State Presidency (which [word indistinct] six republics and two provinces) and that he distanced himself and also was substantially against the conclunsions that were made public later.

"This is a wrong policy and this is not a policy of dialogues which I have tried to [word indistinct]. I am speaking as the representative of Slovenia, and Slovenia does not want to take one side or another, even though it is commonly said that we are backing up the Albanian separatists. I believe that such a policy is taking Yugoslavia into the full blockade and international isolation," the BORBA daily quotes from Dr Drnovsek's statement to the television of the northwestern republic of Slovenia which he represents in the eight-member Presidency.

In answering the question as to whether he would take part in the future sessions of the State Presidency, Dr Drnovsek said he had made it clear that he did not want to participate in the sessions at which the president would give some formal coverage "for" and that he was against engaging the Presidency in cases when certain public condemnation was needed.

Dr Drnovsek, as BORBA writes, said that the State Presidency [words indistinct] no genuine influence on the events in Kosovo and that every remark and every proposal was treated as an interference in the internal [words indistinct] and also as a support for the Albanian [words indistinct].

"The point," said Dr Drnovsek in conclusion, "is in the fact that in case the solutions are such, we can no longer take part in all this. This is my decision and the decision of Slovenia. The further moves, depending on situation, would be appraised by myself."

## Slovene Assembly Views Proposed Confederal Plan

*AU2209183090 Zagreb VECERNJI LIST in Serbo-Croatian 18 Sep 90 p 5*

[V. Zagorac report: "Everything—Only Not a Federation"]

[Text] Ljubljana—Some 10 days prior to the first fall session, the delegates of the Slovene Assembly have received for their perusal "The Possible Elements of a Confederal Agreement," which will most probably be more thoroughly discussed on 27 September. It has been stressed to delegates that the document is "solely a working version and is meant to be informative," and it has been discussed at least once by the Executive Council, which made many critical comments and hinted that it should be discussed further. The public does not know whether the government has really done this, but the Demos leadership has presented its opinion at a session held behind closed doors, and this was sufficient for the green light to be given for an Assembly debate to be held on the "Possible Elements."

Lojze Peterle, head of the Slovene Government, explained this document in its initial working version and stressed that any further action depends on events in the whole of Yugoslavia. As far as we know, the unified assessment has been reached in the main political bodies in Yugoslavia that the problem of Yugoslavia cannot be resolved in a constitutional, legal way. The question is now being raised of who still has the opportunity and legitimacy to play the leading role in this respect. We are all, however, of the opinion that everything must proceed in a peaceful and orderly way, but new facts daily come to the surface which need to be considered. The Slovene Government has no powers to negotiate with others because it has yet to receive these powers from the Assembly.

According to the Slovene offer, it is essential for a confederation that every member is a quite independent state and a subject of international law. The procedure and way to transform the federation as it is at present as a subject of international law into a confederation is very important but no variations are given. Economic interests, defense-security interests, and international relations are stressed as key points in the confederal agreement. Political-economic-monetary-defense unity (PEMO) is defined as the highest level of cooperation. Confederal relations are possible among all the present republics, among only some, or between some and the others which have remained in a federation.

Every member state of the confederation is an independent international subject and may independently conclude international agreements, but organs of the confederation can conclude international agreements in certain fields only with the permission of all the members or only some of the members. Diplomatic-consular representations are determined by the member states, jointly or independently according to their interests, and a combination of one's own and joint representations is also possible. A member state of the confederation is to be a member of the United Nations Organization and international organizations, and may open economic representations abroad. Foreign policy activity is based on serving the national interests of the member states, which means that every member state of the confederation has its own foreign policy activity, so that this is not a subject of the confederal agreement.

Interstate commissions may be set up for cooperation among member states. There are to be no customs duties among member states and each member will have its own customs structure and trade regime with third states. The "joint market" is represented by the free flow of goods, services, capital, and labor. The member states will also determine the protection policy in these areas, thereby achieving their strategic aims. Monetary union is expected so that each member state has its own currency, but the rate of exchange policy will be coordinated and there will be a joint currency unit.

In the field of defense, it is expected that each member state has its own armed force, but defense preparations may be coordinated and harmonized at the confederal level. These tasks may be settled within the framework of a council of ministers of the governments (ministerial council), which would coordinate strategic questions and a council of defense ministers, which would settle specific issues. Every member state gives an agreed contingent of armed forces to the confederation, and provides not less than an agreed sum of money for defense; however, every member independently decides on the nature of army service (a professional or conscript army) and independently conducts military training.

The organs of the confederation will include a ministerial council (a consultative body of member states made up of representatives of the governments) and a court of the confederation (concerned with the legality of the interpretation of the confederal agreement), and a bank for development, special-purpose funds, an institute for standardization, an institute for measures, and so on are also envisaged.

The confederation is to be financed by set contributions from member states, but the selection of the center of the confederation must prevent the domination of the member state where it is situated; different organs can have a center in various places; and all organs have a recognized extra territorial status. All the languages of the member states are on an equal footing. The duration of the confederal agreement is unlimited but Yugoslavia would no longer be an entity under international law. Secession is to be resolved in practice in different ways and the Slovene offer does not provide a specific solution, but it says that secession does not impinge on the issue of the borders defined by an interstate treaty while nothing is said about internal borders.

The internal distribution of the property of Yugoslavia after 1945 is to be carried out according to the criteria of actual payments. The question remains open of the distribution of the value of property of federal institutions centered in Belgrade.

### Slovene Socialists Favor Vote on Confederation

*LD2109191690 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1807 GMT 21 Sep 90*

[Text] Ljubljana, 21 Sep (TANJUG)—The Socialist Party of Yugoslavia's Republic Slovenia considers that possible unions could be discussed only after Slovenia obtained full independence and sovereignty. Political pacts between leaderships cannot be an alternative for necessary plebiscites which alone could give the legitimacy and legality to new confederal accords, it was set out concerning the possible agreeing on a confederate accord with the Republic of Croatia exclusively at today's session of party's leadership.

The republics of Slovenia and Croatia support a confederate Yugoslav system and have been preparing drafts of confederate accords.

The socialists hold that the document entitled "Possible Elements of a Confederate Accord", made by the Slovenian Government, is both unambitious and inexpert.

The socialists reproach the first draft of the new republican constitution for the lack of provisions on the separation of the church and the state, and consider that there is no room for religious instruction in schools and that the Roman-Catholic Church's adoption by the state means deprivation of freedom for atheists and believers of other religions.

### Tito Statue Removed From Slovene Assembly

*LD2409123190 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1135 GMT 24 Sep 90*

[Text] Ljubljana, 24 Sep (TANJUG)—Slovenia's Assembly decided to remove a statue of Josip Tito from the building's main hall.

The 1.2 ton white marble statue which has been standing in the same spot since the building was built 31 years ago will be taken to the Ljubljana city museum until its ownership is resolved.

On Friday [21 September], Slovenia's republican government proposed the removal of all portraits of the late Yugoslav president from all public premises since they are not state symbols.

Josip Broz Tito headed the partisan resistance movement against the fascist occupation of Yugoslavia during the last world war. He was Yugoslav president from the war to his death in 1980 and also headed the ruling Communist Party.

The post-war period in Yugoslavia's history is frequently called the Tito epoch.

### Slovene Police Union Stages 'Warning Strike'

*LD2109154690 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1358 GMT 21 Sep 90*

[Text] Ljubljana, September 21 (TANJUG)—The police of the Yugoslav republic of Slovenia today held a one-hour warning strike.

The strike was organized by the Police Union of Slovenia to warn the Slovene government and public of the very low pays received by the policemen in Slovenia.

The union decided to take the step after several unsuccessful attempts to find a common language with the republican government.

Vice-president of the strike committee, Ivan Kern, was said that policemen in Slovenia monthly earn on the average around 5,800 dinars (7 dinars per 1 West German mark), including bonuses.

The union demands that the average pay for policemen be raised to around 12,000 dinars.

### Slovenia Invites Helsinki Federation Members Back

*AU2409101590 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 19 Sep 90 p 4*

[Unattributed report: "Bucar's Letter to the International Helsinki Federation"]

[Text] Ljubljana—France Bucar, president of the Slovene Assembly, yesterday sent a letter to the International Helsinki Federation (IHF) informing it that Slovenia is firmly resolved to respect international standards of human rights in Slovenia and Yugoslavia. Bucar further says that an important part of this resolve is Slovenia's demand that Yugoslavia must be open to all internationally recognized humanitarian organizations and those for the protection of rights. The letter further says that the recent expulsion of the IHF representatives from Yugoslavia is condemned on the basis of these views and in accordance with the Kosovo Declaration adopted by the Slovene Assembly. The Republic of Slovenia does not recognize the validity of this act against the IHF representatives.

At the same time the president of the Slovene Assembly invites the expelled IHF representatives to visit Slovenia and to continue their mission. The Republic of Slovenia will ensure their free entry and all the necessary assistance.

### Slovenian, Italian Communists Meet in Modena

*LD2209214190 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1928 GMT 22 Sep 90*

[Text] Ljubljana, 22 Sep (TANJUG)—The leaders of the reformed Slovenian Communists (LCS-PDC) [League of Communists of Slovenia-Party of Democratic Reform—ZKS-SDP] and of the Communist Party of Italy (CPI) at their talks in Modena today pointed out the significance and responsibility of the left democratic forces for the development of democracy, freedom and social justice in Europe and the world and especially in the emergent democratic states on the continent.

As was made public by the information service of the Slovenian LCS-PDC party in Ljubljana, Ciril Ribicic and Achile Occhetto indicated the importance of cooperation with the Socialist International to the end of surmounting the inherited political bipolarity which should be substituted by democratic dialogues and cooperation.

At the talks, it was announced, the Italian side showed keen interest in the development of democracy in Slovenia and in continuing the cooperation between the CPI and the Slovenian LCS-PDC on the national level and also including the PCI for Friuli-Venzia Giulia just as by means of association within the Alps-Adriatic working community.

Occhetto stressed that experience in the development of democracy in Slovenia and initiatives of the Slovenian LCS-PDC—because of their developmental and national specificities—could have a broader-based importance for other European countries too.

Occhetto accepted the invitation for a delegation of the PCI national leadership to take part in the October congress of the Slovenian LCS-PDC party.

### Muslim Democratic Party To Form in Bosnia

*LD2109154790 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1348 GMT 21 Sep 90*

[Text] Sarajevo, 21 Sep (TANJUG)—Vice-President of the Party of Democratic Acion (PDA) [SDA] Zulfikar Pasic today said he would form a Muslim Bosnian Democratic Party in the Yugoslav republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Pasic told a news conference in Sarajevo that the talks held with PDA President Alija Izetbegovic after the last week's conflict within the party had failed. The PDA is torn by a conflict between a militant Muslim wing and a moderate group in the party leadership which calls for the separation of Islam from politics.

Pasic specified that the new party would fight against the extremist, militant PDA wing, but did not rule out the possibility of the new party merging again with the democratically-oriented PDA membership sometime in the future.

### Former Diplomat To Run for Bosnian Presidency

*LD2209174990 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1036 GMT 22 Sep 90*

[Excerpt] Sarajevo, 22 Sep (TANJUG)—Bosnia-Hercegovina has, ahead of the multiparty elections scheduled for 18 November, acquired its first independent non-party candidate for membership in the republic's Presidency. He is Bahrudin Bijedic, until recently SFRY consul general in Chicago, who today placed a public advertisement in the Sarajevo OSLOBODJENJE, calling on citizens of the republic "regardless of their national affiliation and political convictions, to request and fill out the appropriate forms for nominating him as a candidate for this post."

According to the law, 10,000 signatures are necessary. [passage omitted]

### Bosnian Communists Hold Election Convention

*LD2209200790 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1823 GMT 22 Sep 90*

[Text] Sarajevo, 22 Sep (TANJUG)—We are against the disintegration of Yugoslavia but we are also against the unitarian concepts and those political forces that want a Yugoslavia tailored only to the suite of their own—Dr Nijaz Durakovic, president of the League of Communists—Social-Democratic Party of the Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina, said in addressing here today about ten thousand people gathered at the party's election convention. He stressed that his party was respecting the right to self-determination inclusive of secession, but that it would do its utmost towards having the fewest possible reasons for the exercise of this right and for the least possible pressure pushing entire nations out of Yugoslavia.

Durakovic underlined that no other but the democratic and federal Yugoslavia was relying upon the principle of sovereignty and equality of all republics in the historic interest of each nation separately and all of them together.

On the political scene today, Durakovic said, big games are being played by political parties around Bosnia Hercegovina, but, as he said, there can be no fragmentation (of this Republic), nor can it be divided into the so-called national provinces. He also stressed that the existing boundaries of the Republic are lasting and its territorial integrity inviolable.

We hold on to the stand that sovereign and democratic Bosnia-Hercegovina is the only historic option for a free, equal and democratic joint life of the Moslems, Serbs, Croats and other nations inhabiting this area, said Durakovic.

He concluded that his party was open for cooperation up to a direct coalition with all the parties or political forces in the republics that have similar programs, but, said he, there will be no cooperation with national parties and anti-Communist organizations.

### Democratic Action Party Officials Expelled

*LD2209203190 Belgraded TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1823 GMT 22 Sep 90*

[Text] Tesanj, 22 Sep (TANJUG)—At an extraordinary assembly of the Democratic Action Party [SDA] which is being held behind closed doors in Tesanj, it was decided on a vote this evening to expel Vice-Chairman Adil Zulfikarpasic, and Dr. Muhamed Filipovic, Hamza Mujagic, and Fehim Nametak from the party. Of 238 delegates present, only 11 were against their expulsion.

The assembly was attended by representatives of 82 branches of the SDA from virtually everywhere in Bosnia-Hercegovina, as well as delegates from regional organisations of the SDA in Zagreb, Montenegro and the Sandzak [Novi Pazar area in Serbia and Montenegro]. There will probably be more details about this evening's decision to make the expulsions, which comes about in the wake of the split in the SDA leadership over theoretical views on the future of the party, at a press conference which has been scheduled for tomorrow.

### Macedonia Says Prohor Pcinski Monastery 'Annexed'

*AU2009220390 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 17 Sep 90 p 12*

[Unattributed TANJUG report: "Serbs Annexed Prohor Pcinski"]

[Text] Skopje—A working group of the Executive Council of Macedonia concluded that the Prohor Pcinski monastery was unjustifiably annexed to the People's Republic of Serbia in 1945. The conclusion was reached on the basis of a detailed analysis of scientific material and the insights derived from it, and on the basis of documents in the archives of the Socialist Republic of Macedonia. The working group has also prepared a report on border disputes with the Socialist Republic of Serbia.

All documents state that the monastery was on the territory of Macedonia. The group will propose that the Socialist Republic of Serbia and the Socialist Republic of Macedonia establish a joint assembly commission to discuss this delicate issue.

### Markovic Discusses Cooperation With Macedonians

*AU2109200790 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 20 Sep 90 p 3*

[Unattributed TANJUG report]

[Text] Ante Markovic, president of the Initiative Committee of the Alliance of Reform Forces of Yugoslavia, yesterday met Slavko Miloslavlevski, president of the Social Democratic Party of Macedonia, and Tihomir Jovanovski, a member of that party's Central Council. Proceeding from the great closeness of views of the Alliance of Reform Forces of Yugoslavia and the Social Democratic Party of Macedonia, representatives of the two parties talked about the future forms of cooperation in the forthcoming multiparty elections in Macedonia.

### Markovic Meeting With Croatia's Manolic Reported

*LD2209012290 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1935 GMT 21 Sep 90*

[Text] The Republic of Croatia Information Ministry announced this evening that Ante Markovic, president of the Federal Executive Council [FEC], together with vice presidents and members of his cabinet had a meeting with Josip Manolic, prime minister of the Republic of Croatia, after their visit to the Zagreb grand fair.

During the talk, they discussed the key questions of further implementation of the political, social, and economic reforms as well as the necessary changes in the SFRY Constitution, individual systemic laws, and to macroeconomic policy measures.

### Republics Issue Constitutional Changes, Reforms

*LD2109180690 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1641 GMT 21 Sep 90*

[Text] Skopje, 21 Sep (TANJUG)—The Assembly of the Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia today proclaimed amendments to the republican Constitution, legalizing a multi-party and parliamentary system.

The proclamation of the amendments to Macedonia's Constitution means that, after half a century of Communist rule, the first multi-party elections can be held in that Yugoslav republic by the end of the month.

Multi-party elections were held in Yugoslavia's northern republics of Slovenia and Croatia in the spring. The elections were won by the right, nationally-oriented opposition. Multi-party elections are to be held in the four other Yugoslav republics by the end of the year.

A further step towards a multi-party system has been taken by the authorities in the Republic of Serbia, whose government today approved the draft of a new republican constitution. If adopted by the Assembly of Serbia next week, Serbia's new constitution will be proclaimed on September 28.

The Government of Serbia also approved a draft electoral law and recommended that it be adopted by summary proceedings, so that multi-party elections could be held a month or two after the adoption of the new republican constitution.

### Iraq Preparing To Expel Hungarian, Czech Attaches

*AU2409102090 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1000 GMT 24 Sep 90*

[Text] According to still-unconfirmed reports, which are being carried by TANJUG, Baghdad is preparing to expel the military attaches of Hungary and Czechoslovakia, because these countries are allegedly intending to send troops to join the international forces in the Gulf.

### U.S. Senator Dole's Comments Called 'Untruths'

*LD2209121490 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1224 GMT 21 Sep 90*

[Text] Washington, 21 Sep (TANJUG)—U.S. Senator Robert Dole has signaled new actions against Yugoslavia in the Congress in Washington. Dole has just issued a statement in which he says that "it is a serious question, whether Yugoslavia as a country will continue to exist."

The influential senator, Republican leader and former candidate for U.S. President, has said that he will try to talk to colleagues who have been blocking the anti-Yugoslav resolution, which was earlier proposed by himself and Senator Claiborne Pell, the draft of which even threatened some kind of economic sanctions.

In accordance with his prediction that Yugoslavia will probably not survive, Robert Dole said in his statement that "it is time to take sides."

In the openly anti-Serbian and anti-Yugoslav text of the written statement, in which, for example, he says that Serbia is the "last bastion of totalitarianism" and that "the Serbian Government has a police state with the agreement of the federal government of Yugoslavia", Senator Dole also said that "the United States cannot remain on the sidelines". He considers that the U.S. "has the moral obligation to take a firm stand in defense of the individual rights of Albanians and all the peoples of Yugoslavia."

Explaining that the resolution should be directed against "communist tyranny", and not against the peoples which make up Yugoslavia, Dole failed to mention the position of the Serbian nation in Kosovo.

In a statement to the press, the U.S. senator twice emphasized that he went to Kosovo without prejudices and to "learn the truth about events in Yugoslavia". He did not say, however, that for years he has been on the side of the Albanian separatists, for which written evidence exists.

Similar use of untruths and half truths can be found in other parts of the text, in which the delegation that Dole led on a visit to Yugoslavia is described as "independent", even though it is known that this senator from the state of Kansas has not only been the sponsor of anti-Yugoslav resolutions, but also the author of letters of greetings which have been read at meetings and rallies of separatists.

Although he stressed that "we did not go to Yugoslavia to give support to any one republic or ethnic group", the U.S. senator did not once mention his talks with representatives of the Serbs in Kosovo, but he described in detail the situation in Pristina.

In his statement Senator Dole provided a foundation for the conclusion reached by earlier assertions by U.S. observers, that tact is not his strong point. He described

the Yugoslav Federal Government as "increasingly irrelevant for real critical political developments and problems", which, as far as is known, has not hitherto been the line of official U.S. foreign policy, although it is in line with Dole's prediction of a gloomy future for Yugoslavia.

In his concern for human rights, this U.S. senator seems to have forgotten that only a few months ago he visited Baghdad not a month after the Iraqi authorities hanged a British journalist. Neither Dole nor anyone in his delegation thought it necessary to raise this issue or the issue of human rights in general in Iraq in the talks with President Saddam Husayn. Instead, the congressmen were competing with each other in their apologetic statements to the Iraqi head of state, which at that time, as a result of mistaken calculations, "suited" U.S. strategic interests.

Senator Robert Dole nevertheless "took sides" when he assessed that the time had come. The visit to Yugoslavia was necessary as a cover for fresh anti-Yugoslav action, and not as a "eye-opener".

Was Dole's statement on his visit to Yugoslavia coincidentally issued at the time when the Yugoslav and Serbian governments were sharply reacting to the proclamation of the illegal republic of Kosovo? Why did Dole not publish his impressions of his visit to Kosovo immediately after the visit, rather than wait for time to pass while he "sorted out his impressions"? Is it a chance coincidence that Dole attacked the federal government on the same day as this was also done by Ibrahim Rugova in Pristina? The senator and his advisors will best be able to answer these questions.

### Weapons Smuggled in From Vienna, Zurich, Munich

*AU2209210690 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 15 Sep 90 p 10*

[S. Petrovic report: "Checkpoints on the Border to Austria Flooded With Arms Smugglers: More and More Frequent Smuggling of Military Weapons"]

[Excerpt] Maribor, 14 Sep— The shots fired from firearms at Internal Affairs organs near Podujevo merely confirm information obtained here on the state border to the effect that some regions of Yugoslavia are being illegally armed every day in a systematic way. This is not an idle statement; it is confirmed almost daily at Sentilj and other border checkpoints in Slovenia of people being arrested for smuggling firearms to our country.

In the course of last week alone, border control workers here stopped three people from Croatia and confiscated a considerable quantity of pistols, revolvers, and ammunition.... Those detained include Veljko Demoli of Zagreb, whose car contained a secret compartment in which several Magnum and Luger pistols and 900 rounds of ammunition were found. A day later, 14 Zbrojevka pistols, a Taurus revolver, and 10 magazines full of ammunition were found in the rear seat of a car belonging to Stjepan Janzek of Gornje Jasinje. This smuggler was also hiding 200 rounds of nine-millimeter ammunition in his socks and underwear. Immediately afterwards, Zeljko Kunstek of Krapina caught the eye of the border control. He attempted to smuggle into Yugoslavia two Taurus revolvers, which were tied to his leg. During a body search, 1,249 rounds of ammunition for these weapons were also found.

Weapons are most frequently obtained in Vienna, Zurich, and Munich. The quantity of weapons found in the first eight months of this year is double that found during all of 1989. More precisely, 30 revolvers, 13 hunting guns, 20 military rifles, 19 small-caliber weapons, and 12,500 rounds of ammunition were found on 98 persons. [passage omitted]

### Albanians Defect in Naval Vessel; Child Killed

*AU2109172990 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 19 Sep 90 p 2*

["B.M."-signed report: "Albanian Vessel and Crew Returned"]

[Text] Bar, 18 Sep—The Albanian naval vessel no. 161 with its three-man crew made up of Avdyl Halili, Fatos Sameti, and Gjovani Gjini was returned to the Albanian authorities today from the harbor of Sjerc on Lake Skadar, in Bar Commune. The decision to return the vessel was reached by a border commission consisting of representatives of Albania and of our country.

The Albanian naval vessel was unexpectedly found in our waters of Lake Skadar last Tuesday [4 Sep] at about 1400. The boat had been seized in the harbor of Shiroke by Albanian citizens, who used it to escape to our country. As they fled, Albanian border guards fired on the vessel, killing four-year-old Anis, daughter of Marjana and Aleksander Gruda. She was buried in the village of Livari (Bar Commune) in the presence of her parents and all the villagers. The remaining 15 escapees, 10 men who seized the vessel and disarmed the crew, three women, and two children, are serving one-month prison sentences in jails in Kotor and Titograd for illegally crossing the border. After serving their sentences, they hope to go to the United States, Australia, and New Zealand, where they have relatives.

The members of the crew decided to return to Albania.